



Why McCain  
Won't Cut  
Bush Loose

A TIME / Rockefeller  
Foundation Poll: The  
Fading American Dream



The Insufferable  
Charms of  
*Mamma Mia!*

# TIME

Afghanistan

## The Right War

Why the West is failing there, and what to do about it

BY RORY STEWART

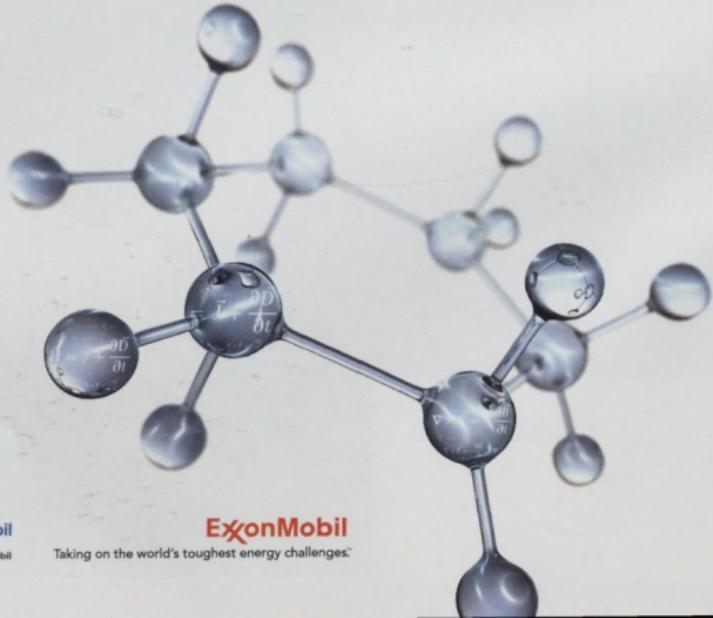
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On How to Defeat the Taliban



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On the cover: Photograph by Chad Hunt. Insets, from left: Susan Walsh—AP; Peter Mountain—Universal

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To Our Readers

# The Service Agenda.

TIME is helping to lead a major push to make national service a priority in Washington. And we want you to get involved

IT IS A UNIQUE MOMENT FOR THE IDEA OF national service. You have two presidential candidates who believe deeply in service and who have made it part of their core message to voters. You have millions of Americans who are yearning to be more involved in the world and in their communities. You have corporations and businesses that are making civic engagement a key part of their mission.

Last September, our cover story "The Case for National Service" caused an outpouring of interest in and support for citizen service across the country. This year, in addition to publishing another issue on the idea of service, we are convening—along with the Carnegie Corporation of New York and with presenters AARP and Target—a national bipartisan summit in New York City that will bring together hundreds of leading Americans to plan and lay out a bold blueprint on citizen service. The event will start on the evening of Sept. 11—that solemn anniversary seemed an appropriate time to launch this effort—and the meeting itself will occur the next day, Sept. 12. The summit will also be the first major public event for ServiceNation, a national campaign of more than 100 organizations—ranging from AARP to the National Council of La Raza and Habitat for Humanity—that collectively represent some 100 million Americans. My co-chairs at the summit will be Alma Powell, Caroline Kennedy, Carnegie president Vartan Gregorian and AARP CEO Bill Novelli. The summit will be opened by New York City mayor Mike Bloomberg, who himself is an exemplar of citizen service, and will be closed by California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, who is the first governor to create a cabinet post to oversee service and volunteering.

To kick off the summit, ServiceNation has invited Senators John McCain and Barack Obama to a presidential forum on service. The purpose of the forum is to give both candidates a chance to discuss their views on citizenship and sketch out their ideas for the role of service in America.

All the partners are keen to make the

## SERVICENATION

[www.servicenation.org](http://www.servicenation.org)



**Giving their all** A service summit co-presented by TIME will include, clockwise from top left, New York City mayor Bloomberg; co-chair Powell; California governor Schwarzenegger and co-chairs Gregorian and Kennedy

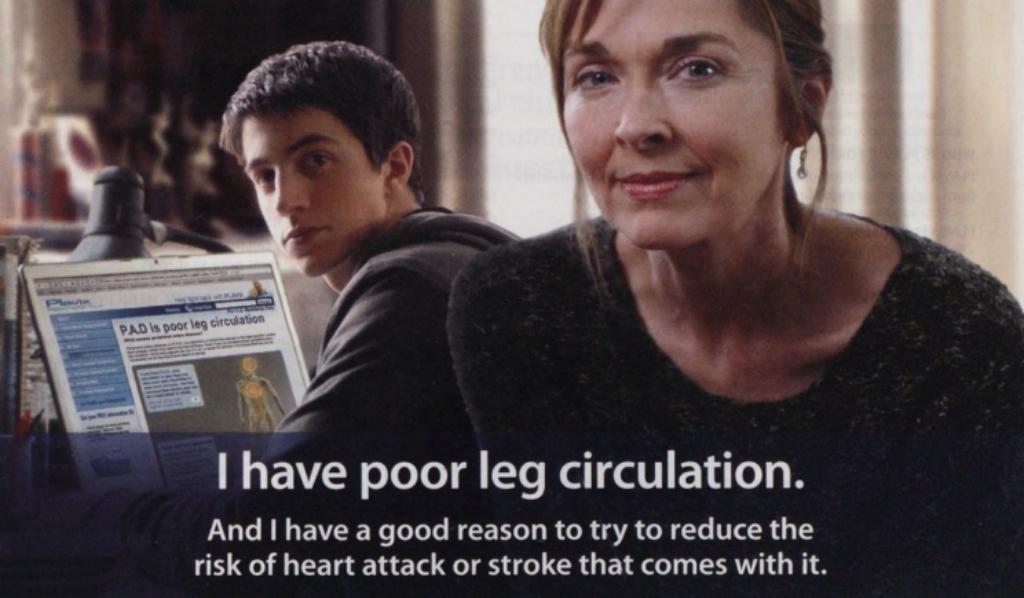
summit a place for not only dialogue but also action. To that end, ServiceNation is working with Senators Ted Kennedy and Orrin Hatch on legislation designed to expand opportunities for volunteering and national service. ServiceNation will urge the next President and Congress to enact that legislation by Sept. 11, 2009. Two weeks after the summit, ServiceNation will engage tens of thousands of Americans in hundreds of events across the country in a national Day of Action to highlight the benefits and goals of citizen service.

### A Campaign Conversation

TWO WEEKS AGO, WE PRESENTED DUELING essays by the presidential candidates on the nature of patriotism. This week,

Senators Obama and McCain face off on their strategies for Afghanistan. Their essays inaugurate a regular feature called In Their Words, in which the candidates will share a page and debate an issue of our choosing. Every week, we give you great reporting and analysis on the presidential campaign, but now we're also offering you the unvarnished and unfiltered views of the candidates so you can compare them side by side.

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



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proven to help reduce your risk of heart attack and stroke

associated with P.A.D. PLAVIX helps keep blood platelets from sticking together and forming dangerous clots, the cause of most heart attacks and strokes. Ask your doctor about PLAVIX.



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## WHO IS PLAVIX FOR?

PLAVIX is a prescription-only medicine that helps keep blood platelets from sticking together and forming clots.

PLAVIX is for patients who have:

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- had a recent stroke.
- poor circulation in their legs (Peripheral Artery Disease).

PLAVIX in combination with aspirin is for patients hospitalized with:

- heart-related chest pain (unstable angina).
- heart attack.

Doctors may refer to these conditions as ACS (Acute Coronary Syndrome).

Clots can become dangerous when they form inside your arteries. These clots form when blood platelets stick together, forming a blockage within your arteries, restricting blood flow to your heart or brain, causing a heart attack or stroke.

## WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE PLAVIX?

You should NOT take PLAVIX if you:

- are allergic to clopidogrel (the active ingredient in PLAVIX).
- have a stomach ulcer
- have another condition that causes bleeding.
- are pregnant or may become pregnant.
- are breast feeding.

## WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY DOCTOR BEFORE TAKING PLAVIX?

Before taking PLAVIX, tell your doctor if you're pregnant or are breast feeding or have any of the following:

- gastrointestinal ulcer
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## WHAT IMPORTANT INFORMATION SHOULD I KNOW ABOUT PLAVIX?

TTP: A very serious blood condition called TTP (Thrombotic Thrombocytopenic Purpura) has been rarely reported in people taking PLAVIX. TTP is a potentially life-threatening condition that involves low blood platelet and red blood cell levels, and requires urgent referral to a specialist for prompt treatment once a diagnosis is suspected. Warning signs of TTP may include fever, unexplained confusion or weakness (due to a low blood count, what doctors call anemia). To make an accurate diagnosis, your doctor will need to order blood tests. TTP has been reported rarely, sometimes in less than 2 weeks after starting therapy.

Gastrointestinal Bleeding: There is a potential risk of gastrointestinal (stomach and intestine) bleeding when taking PLAVIX. PLAVIX should be used with caution in patients who have lesions that may bleed (such as ulcers), along with patients who take drugs that cause such lesions.

Bleeding: You may bleed more easily and it may take you longer than usual to stop bleeding when you take PLAVIX alone or in combination with aspirin. Report any unusual bleeding to your doctor.

Geriatrics: When taking aspirin with PLAVIX the risk of serious bleeding increases with age in patients 65 and over.

Stroke Patients: If you have had a recent TIA (also known as a mini-stroke) or stroke taking aspirin with PLAVIX has not been shown to be more effective than taking PLAVIX alone, but taking aspirin with PLAVIX has been shown to increase the risk of bleeding compared to taking PLAVIX alone.

Surgery: Inform doctors and dentists well in advance of any surgery that you are taking PLAVIX so they can help you decide whether or not to discontinue your PLAVIX treatment prior to surgery.

## WHAT SHOULD I KNOW ABOUT TAKING OTHER MEDICINES WITH PLAVIX?

You should only take aspirin with PLAVIX when directed to do so by your doctor. Certain other medicines should not be taken with PLAVIX. Be sure to tell your doctor about all of your current medications, especially if you are taking the following:

- aspirin
- nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs)
- warfarin
- heparin

Be sure to tell your doctor if you are taking PLAVIX before starting any new medication.

## WHAT ARE THE COMMON SIDE EFFECTS OF PLAVIX?

The most common side effects of PLAVIX include gastrointestinal events (bleeding, abdominal pain, indigestion, diarrhea, and nausea) and rash. This is not a complete list of side effects associated with PLAVIX. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for a complete list.

## HOW SHOULD I TAKE PLAVIX?

Only take PLAVIX exactly as prescribed by your doctor. Do not change your dose or stop taking PLAVIX without talking to your doctor first.

PLAVIX should be taken around the same time every day, and it can be taken with or without food. If you miss a day, do not double up on your medication. Just continue your usual dose. If you have any questions about taking your medications, please consult your doctor.

## OVERDOSAGE

As with any prescription medicine, it is possible to overdose on PLAVIX. If you think you may have overdosed, immediately call your doctor or Poison Control Center, or go to the nearest emergency room.

## FOR MORE INFORMATION

For more information on PLAVIX, call 1-800-633-1610 or visit [www.PLAVIX.com](http://www.PLAVIX.com). Neither of these resources, nor the information contained here, can take the place of talking to your doctor. Only your doctor knows the specifics of your condition and how PLAVIX fits into your overall therapy. It is therefore important to maintain an ongoing dialogue with your doctor concerning your condition and your treatment.

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# 10 Questions.

The world-renowned piano virtuoso recalls his musical childhood in a new memoir, *Journey of a Thousand Miles*.

## Lang Lang will now take your questions

As a person who has grown up with pop music, I find it hard to enjoy classical music. What can I do about this?

**James Jiang, NORWICH, U.K.**  
I don't think that if you listen to pop music, you can't enjoy classical. Find something very popular to listen to first—piano pieces by Chopin or something like *Swan Lake*—and then you can move on to Mahler or Wagner.

**What can you do to keep classical music alive?**

**Barry Werger**

**CLAREMONT, CALIF.**

Something I tried to achieve with this autobiography was to bring in people who don't necessarily listen to classical music. The image of [classical musicians] is already changing a bit. Look at CD covers. They actually look like real people now, as opposed to before, when musicians would always wear tuxedos with big tails. I hate wearing tuxedos.

**How do you manage to maintain and convey the emotion of a piece after playing it hundreds of times?**

**Umesh Panchaksharaiah**

**RICHMOND, CALIF.**

The first time you play a piece, your blood pressure is high. The second time, you are more clear in your mind. I always play a piece three times in a row, and then I stop and get another piece out. That way, there's always a freshness to it.

**Your talent was visible at an early age. What impact did that have on your childhood?**

**Chacha Wang, ROCKVILLE, MD.**



Once you are a pianist, you need to give up part of your childhood. I was always jealous of other people when they would go to the park and I would be practicing like I was in a zoo.

**Is it possible for modern life and classical music to coexist, or are they in parallel worlds?**

**Andrei Zakharov, MOSCOW**  
It's like reading Shakespeare. No matter how old the play is, it's concerned with human

feelings. There's war, there's peace, there are great days, and there are tragic days. That will never change.

**Do you have any plans to integrate Chinese music into your classical Western canon?**

**Li You, APEX, N.C.**  
Recently I've worked with a few great Chinese composers. Tan Dun had this concept of a kung-fu piano concerto—lots of extreme finger movement and using elbows and palms



### Next Questions

Ask Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi your questions for an upcoming interview



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interview and subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes at [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)

to play. It was like watching Jackie Chan fight.

**Other than classical, do you have a favorite musical genre?**

**Spencer J. Gordon**  
**CHESTERTON, IND.**

I love jazz and opera. And also hip-hop. They make impressive music videos. Classical-music videos are still pretty traditional. You can probably direct one yourself. Just put a piano out in some landscape.

**How do you handle stage fright?**

**John Arndt**

**GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.**

The bigger the venue is, the better. Every time I go back to China, I play in stadiums that fit 10,000 to 12,000 people. They cheer like it's a pop concert. After the show, I need to wait two hours before I can get out of the stadium.

**Who are your favorite pianists?**

**Paul Chow, TORONTO**  
I call Vladimir Horowitz "the Magician." He made everything so simple, it was like magic. When Arthur Rubinstein plays, he brings his heart out to you. It's so personal and so warm. And Glenn Gould is a unique genius. You've probably heard many pianists playing the same work, but when you hear Gould, it's like it's brand-new.

**Have you ever wanted to do something else with your life?**

**Marcela Schaefer, TAMPA, FLA.**  
Absolutely. I once had a teacher who thought I wasn't talented enough and fired me. For a period of time, I thought, There are so many other things to do. Why piano? ■

# Postcard: London.

A mysterious bug found in a museum garden has entomologists wondering what might have prompted its sudden appearance. **A scientific detective story**

BY EBEN HARRELL

Global Dispatch  
For a new postcard from around the world every day, visit [time.com](http://time.com)

**A**S COLLECTIONS MANAGER AT LONDON'S Natural History Museum, Max Barclay has traveled the world in search of rare and previously undiscovered insects. So when his 5-year-old son took a break from a picnic lunch last March in the museum's garden and returned with an insect in his hand, Barclay could not have guessed that his question—"Daddy, what's this?"—would lead to a global detective hunt that has so far stumped Barclay and the world's other entomologists.

Despite working with an insect collection of more than 28 million specimens, Barclay and his colleagues have been unable to identify the almond-shaped critter, about the size of a grain of rice, which has in the past year made itself at home in the sycamore trees on the 19th century museum's grounds in central London. "My field work has taken me all over the world—to Thailand, Bolivia, Peru. So I was surprised to be confronted by an unidentifiable species while having a sandwich in the museum's garden," Barclay says.

Within three months of the discovery, the insect had become the most common species in the garden and was spotted in other central London parks, sending Barclay on a worldwide hunt to identify it. Correspondence with colleagues around Europe led Barclay to discover that the insect, which resembles the common North American box elder bug, is actually most closely related to *Arocatus roeselii*, a relatively rare species of seed eaters usually found in central Europe. But those bugs are associated with alder trees rather than sycamores. An insect specimen found in Nice, France, which is now in the collection at the National Museum in Prague, turned out to be the same as the mysterious London bug. But that specimen had been misidentified as *Arocatus roeselii*. "There are two possible explana-



The mite of the museum Did global warming bring this exotic pest to London?

tions," says Barclay. "One is that the bug is *roeselii*, and by switching to feed on the [sycamores], it has suddenly become more abundant, successful and invasive. The other is that the insect in our grounds may not be *roeselii* at all."

In recent years, several foreign insects, spiders and beetles have been discovered in Britain, a trend many attribute to the ability of such species to survive winters warmed by climate change. In 2005 Edinburgh Zoo issued a public notice after several panicked Scots reported seeing a spider called a false widow, which has a disconcerting behavior of rushing toward people who approach it. The spider turned out to be quite common—in the Canary Islands.

Barclay is not convinced that climate change is responsible for Britain's new inhabitants. European integration may be the cause. "It's very difficult to judge," Barclay says, "because the period of time we have seen global warming potentially influencing the insect fauna is almost exactly the same period of time since the [European Union] opened up its trade

barriers between member states. So in the past decade and a half, we've been importing a lot more from Italy and Spain and Southern France, and we've had this climatic change—so we have two potential causes." Whatever the reason for the appearance of the new bug in London, Barclay says its spread is harmless. But he concedes, "It does show what's possible [if more damaging species invade]."

The struggle to identify the museum mite displays not only the mystery of nature but also the fickleness that surrounds the science of taxonomy. Figuring out which insects are which can be fiendishly difficult; some scientists estimate that we have managed to identify only 10% of the insect world so far. The rest, like Barclay's almond-shaped mystery bug, are perfectly happy to crawl along without any christening or approval from their gargantuan neighbors. But that won't stop scientists like Barclay from trying to give his new chums a proper name—that is to say, a Latin one. For Barclay, the question asked by his son last March amounts to a calling he still feels compelled to answer.

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# Business Books.

Globalization's next chapter. The corporate code—minority division.

## Why one irate customer might be one too many

BY ANDREA SACHS

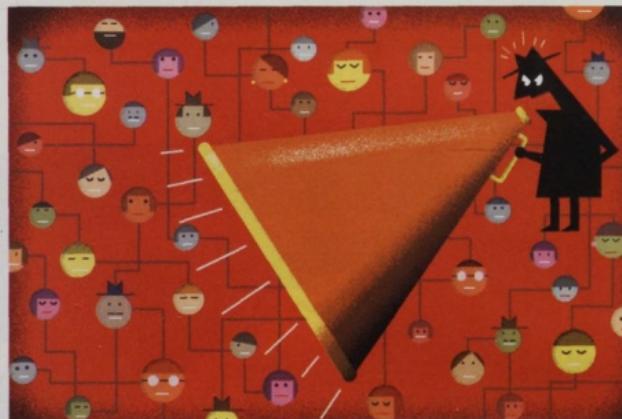


**Satisfied Customers Tell Three Friends, Angry Customers Tell 3,000**  
By Pete Blackshaw  
Doubleday; 193 pages

THERE I WAS, AT 6 A.M. ON THE CHILLY day after Christmas, jammed in the vestibule of a well-known national department store, all because a badly worded newspaper ad had lured me and dozens of others to arrive for the after-holiday sale an hour early. No one let us in the store; no one apologized later when I sent an e-mail complaint to the company's website. Luckily for the store, I wasn't quite aware of how much damage I could do to its reputation online in response to its considerable inconsideration.

Now I am. This book deserves a spot on the desk of every executive who worries about his company's reputational risk. The author, head of strategic services at Nielsen Online, tells tale after tale of angry consumers whose gripes were magnified a thousandfold through online postings, message boards, YouTube and even the mainstream media when a seemingly ordinary dispute spiraled. In one notable consumer revolt in 2005, media pundit Jeff Jarvis used his popular blog *BuzzMachine* to chastise Dell founder Michael Dell on the quality of the company's laptop and customer service. A legion of other dissatisfied customers piled on. The resulting consumer firestorm damaged the brand name, writes Blackshaw: "A swarm of digital termites ended up eating away at the reputation Dell had spent countless millions of dollars to create."

The author gives an awkward label to this new relationship between consumers and producers: consumer generated media (cgm). Luckily, he says, this bond can be monitored, measured and repaired: "Whether you hire a major firm like Nielsen Online, Cymfony/TNS, Umbria or



BuzzLogic, or use any of the various free tools available online, you should be religiously mining the Web to understand what cgm is saying about your brand."

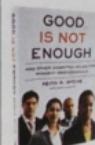
Ironically, the way Blackshaw advocates avoiding toxic cgm is decidedly low-tech. He's a great believer in old-fashioned attributes such as trust and authenticity. That means any claim made about a product had better be irrefutable, because the world will soon know if it's not. And be sure to rev up that underutilized, underfunded consumer-affairs department, he warns. And next time, Macy's, no more Ms. Nice Guy.



**Globality: Competing With Everyone From Everywhere For Everything**  
By Harold Sirkin,  
James Hemerling and  
Arindam Bhattacharya  
Business Plus; 292 pages

GLOBALIZATION WAS JUST PHASE 1. GET ready for a new wave of challengers, "bursting their way onto the big stage." So say the three authors of this smart analysis about the latest developments in global competition: "One day, it may

be your company that Tata Group wants to acquire, your child calling home from Shanghai, your job moving to Mexico City and your brand-new Changfeng gleaming in the driveway." The trio urges U.S. companies to fight back by creating low-cost, high-quality and ingenious products and by reaching deep into big markets. And to "adapt, adopt and synthesize ideas from everyone and everywhere."



**Good Is Not Enough: And Other Unwritten Rules for Minority Professionals**  
By Keith R. Wyche,  
with Sonia Alleyne  
Portfolio; 242 pages

THE AUTHOR, PRESIDENT OF U.S. operations for Pitney Bowes Management Services, is a fierce advocate of hard work and self-improvement. He is also an African American who knows what it means to be "the only one in the room." His new book is by turns a solid career guide, inspirational tract and source of knowing advice for young Latino, Asian and black professionals. "If you're going to play the game," he counsels, "you'd better know the rules."



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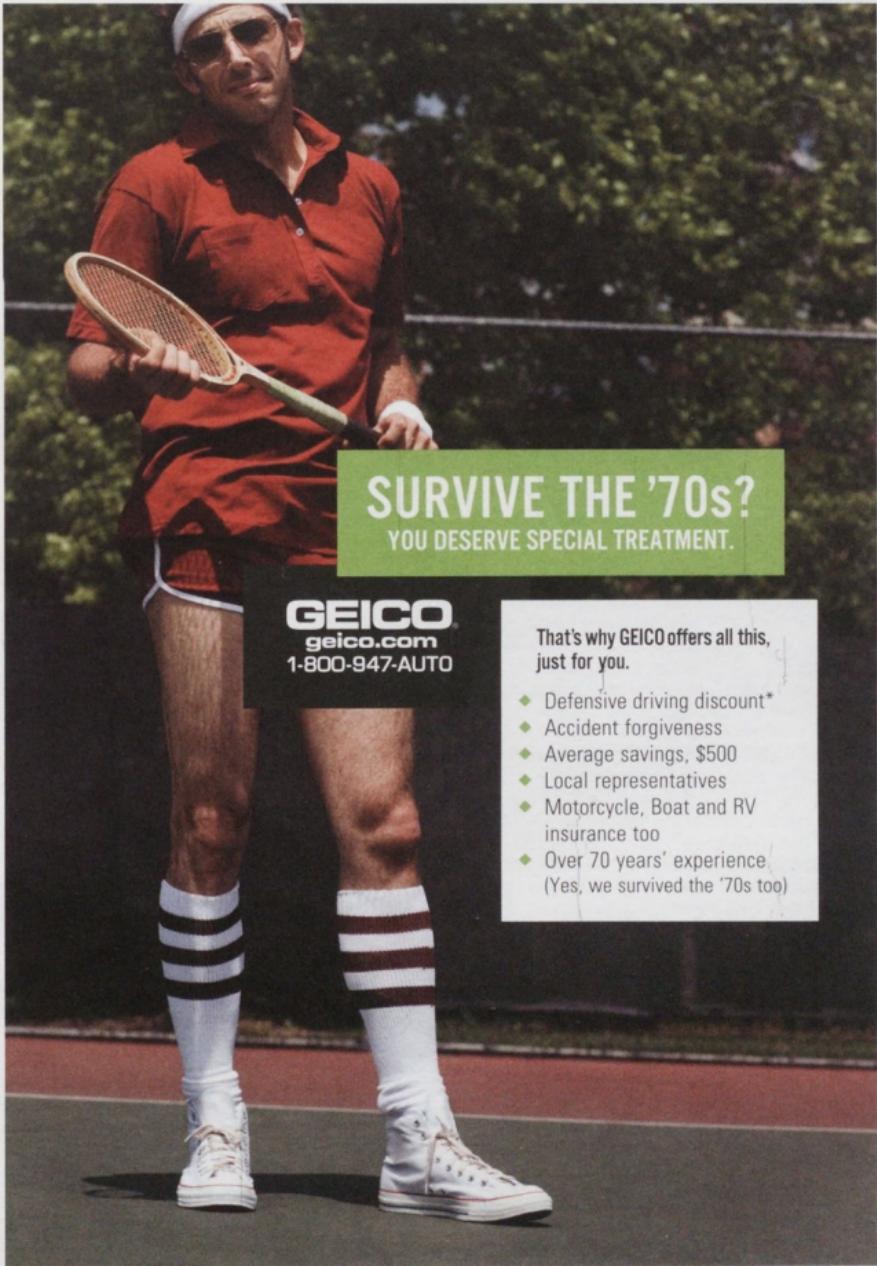


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# Inbox



## Mark Twain's America

MARK TWAIN ON THE COVER OF TIME magazine [July 14]! This is TIME at its best, just as Twain is America at its best. You can't be the leader of the free world if you are not led by freethinkers. And that's what Twain was and still is: a great free mind. Are these signs that an Age of Reason is dawning?

Arben Kallamata, MISSISSAUGA, ONT.

WHEN I WAS A YOUNGSTER AND I SHOULD have been sleeping, I would read about Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn and Becky Thatcher by flashlight underneath the covers at my grandparents' home. Later, a friend and I built a raft and tried to sail across Diamond Lake in Illinois, only to be rescued by fearful adults. When I was 11, my grandmother took me aboard the legendary *Delta Queen*. Now, after more than 80 years afloat, the *Delta Queen* is to be put out of service because of inaction by Congress. It brings to mind a Twain saying: "Suppose you were an idiot, and suppose you were a member of Congress. But I repeat myself." I can't imagine an America without Twain's writings, the Mississippi River or the *Delta Queen*.

Charles Greene, LEWISBURG, KY.

MY ONLY QUARREL WITH YOUR TWAIN story is with Rick Stengel's comment that Twain is the godfather of Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert. Twain may be

their godfather, but there is no doubt in my mind that he should be considered more a legitimate father of George Carlin and Bill Maher.

Alice A. Grimes, WATERTOWN, MASS.

STEPHEN CARTER IS RIGHT TO POINT OUT that "Was Twain a racist?" is a ridiculous question. He was raised in Missouri in the 1830s and 1840s. Of course he was racist—at least for part of his life. And so is Huckleberry Finn, which is part of what makes the book so brilliant. The reader, through Huck, comes to see how absurd racism is, as Jim is fully humanized on their trip down the river together. Twain's point is that racism is socially conditioned and is contrary to the natural inclinations of the human heart. Huck defies the laws and customs of his people and acts with his individual conscience, which is what makes him such a great—and uniquely American—hero.

Pamela Martin, PRESCOTT, ARIZ.

LOVED YOUR ARTICLES ON TWAIN, BUT I'M sick of reading that the 15th Amendment of 1869 granted former slaves the right to vote. The 15th Amendment granted only male ex-slaves the right to vote. Women of all races occupied a rung well below male slaves on the U.S. ladder of rights. This failure to include women should not be ignored or forgotten.

Glencie Reed, PUNTA GORDA, FLA.

**'The cover portrait reminded me of someone. Then it hit me: if Tom Selleck were to grow and whiten his hair, he would look just like Mark Twain.'**

Bob Setserberg, PORTLAND, ORE.

**Tom, call your agent!** Several readers saw Selleck in our Twain cover portrait, above



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## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ In our July 21 story "Statins 'R' Us," we incorrectly attributed the final quote to Dr. Nicolas Stettler. Those comments were made by Dr. David Ludwig of Children's Hospital Boston.

■ On July 14's Milestones page, we mistakenly stated that Mao Anying was the elder brother of former Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong. Mao Anying was Mao Zedong's eldest son.

## Courting the Catholic Vote

RE TIME'S ARTICLE "HOW AMERICA DECIDES": Perhaps Amy Sullivan could have rephrased her last sentence [July 14]. The "very full bowl of wafers" that she refers to is the body of Jesus Christ.

Rita Healy, CHARLOTTE, N.C.

SHAME ON SULLIVAN FOR HER REFERENCE to a "bowl of wafers." And shame on the Catholic priest for denying Christ to Douglas Kmiec for endorsing Barack Obama.

Judith N. Thelen, CUMBERLAND, MD.

## Let's Still Meet in St. Louis

RE TIME'S POSTCARD FROM ST. LOUIS: It's clear that the loss of Anheuser-Busch would be a huge blow to the city's self-esteem [July 14]. But St. Louis, Mo., still has a beautiful urban park, a great orchestra, many art venues and an enviable architectural tradition.

Dominic Ricciotti, WINONA, MINN.

## Gas-Guzzling

TIME'S SUGGESTED ADAPTATIONS TO EXPENSIVE GAS SOUND GOOD, BUT WITH TEENAGERS DRIVING TO SCHOOL INSTEAD OF TAKING TAXPAYER-SUBSIDIZED BUSES AND WITH MALL PARKING LOTS FULL ON WEEKENDS, I DON'T SEE THEM HAPPENING [JULY 14]. I THINK GAS WILL HAVE TO REACH \$6 A GALLON BEFORE OLD HABITS CHANGE.

Kenneth Lee, RAYTOWN, MO.

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# Briefing

THE WORLD □ VERBATIM □ HISTORY □ POP CHART □ MILESTONES

THE MOMENT: PASADENA, CALIF.



## Confidence Game. Economic anxiety may be all in our heads. But our heads may be right

**IT'S HARD TO BELIEVE** PHIL Gramm said the U.S. is only in a "mental recession." These are times of tremendous economic anxiety: consumer confidence is sagging, banking and housing sectors are verging on panic, and the Bush Administration is scrambling to soothe markets. Now a key adviser to John McCain says the economy is some kind of psychological thing?

Well, Gramm has a point, even if McCain is acting as if he never met the guy. It's no

coincidence that economic terms like *anxiety*, *confidence* and *panic*—and for that matter, *depression*—are all psychological terms as well. Markets get jittery because investors do; they calm down when those who invest in them are reassured that their prospects are brighter.

To some extent, every economic transaction is psychological. There's no inherent value to a house, a stock or even the U.S. dollar—just the value on which a buyer and seller can agree. IndyMac

bank failed because of a perception that it was dangerously overextended. Once the panic began, the reality was irrelevant. McCain himself has argued that eliminating a moratorium on offshore drilling would have a posi-

### IndyMac failed because of a perception it was overextended

tive "psychological impact" that could reduce gas prices.

Of course, after Gramm let slip his inconvenient truth, McCain publicly rejected the notion that our economic pain is in our heads. So did Barack Obama, who quipped

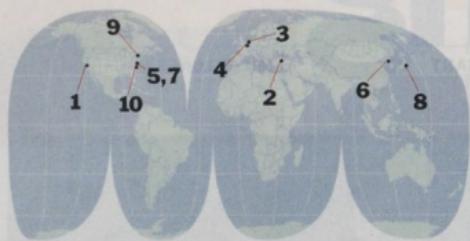
that America doesn't need another Dr. Phil. They've got a point too. Unemployment, inflation, a \$9 trillion national debt and \$4-per-gal. gas are very real phenomena. It's no mere figment of our imagination that prices are rising at their fastest rate in 27 years. It also just so happens that IndyMac really was dangerously overextended. The panic was ultimately justified.

There's a reason economists track consumer confidence: the economy, after all, is basically a confidence game. It's a problem, therefore, that Americans are so anxious. But it would be less of a problem if someone could offer a good reason they shouldn't be.

—BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD ■

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



## 1 | California

### Anatomy of a Bank Run

The fall of IndyMac, the second largest financial institution in U.S. history to collapse, alarmed depositors and caused a run on the bank akin to the savings and loan crisis of the 1980s. How the panic spread:



## 2 | Turkey

### Rounding Up Unusual Suspects

Police arrested 86 people on July 14, including several former military officers, on charges of belonging to an illegal ultranationalist organization seeking to overthrow Turkey's government. The indictment, which accuses the group of several terrorist attacks previously attributed to Islamic militants, is the latest clash in the battle between Turkish secularists and the nation's religious-conservative leadership. The arrests coincide with deliberations by Turkey's top court about whether to disband the ruling AK Party for violating Turkey's secular constitution.

## 3 | The Netherlands

### Justice vs. Peace in Darfur

On July 14 the International Criminal Court (icc) charged Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir with genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes in the nation's Darfur region, where up to 300,000 have died and more than 2.5 million have been displaced since 2003. The allegations mark the first time the six-year-old icc has brought charges against a sitting head of state. Al-Bashir's government vowed to fight the charges, while critics say the icc's efforts to bring justice to Darfur could backfire, leaving peacekeepers and aid workers vulnerable to attack or expulsion.



## 4 | Belgium

### New Crisis for a Divided Nation

Prime Minister Yves Leterme offered his resignation July 14 after failing to negotiate an agreement between Belgium's two main regions, reigniting fears that the country could split along linguistic lines. Leterme—who took office in March, ending nine months without a permanent government—had wanted to grant more autonomy to the majority northern, Dutch-speaking Flanders and the minority southern, French-speaking Wallonia. With King Albert II refusing to accept the resignation, Leterme remains in office for now.



## 5 | Washington

### The Offshore Waiting Game

President George W. Bush's lifting of an executive ban on offshore drilling on July 14 doesn't mean we'll see more oil soon. A congressional vote is also required. Even if Congress agrees to lift the ban, it can take more than a decade to get new offshore oil to market. Here's why:

- ↓ 1-2 years Oil companies survey sites and bid on available leases
- ↓ 1-2 years Highest bidders do seismic tests and analyze results
- ↓ 1-3 years Exploratory drilling carried out in likely oil-producing areas
- ↓ 1-3 years If oil is discovered, plans for platforms and pipelines are submitted for government review
- ↓ 1 year Review period
- ↓ 1-3 years Oil companies build platforms and pipelines
- ↓ Oil is pumped out

SOURCE: AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE

## Numbers: 42%

Percentage of people in the U.S. who have tried marijuana—the highest of any country surveyed in a new study

**\$42 BILLION**

Amount China has spent so far on the Beijing Olympics, mostly on infrastructure like roads and subways



## 6 | North Korea

**MOURNING AND ANGER** A North Korean soldier shot and killed Park Wang Ja, 53, a South Korean tourist who apparently wandered into a restricted military zone near Mount Kumgang on July 11, hours before South Korean President Lee Myung Bak proposed reconciliation talks with the North. Seoul responded by halting tours to the area, while Pyongyang rejected Lee's overture and demanded an apology for the incident.

## 7 | Washington

### Department Of Labor: Not Working

Two reports by the Government Accountability Office slammed the U.S. Department of Labor, claiming its Wage and Hour Division regularly mishandled complaints of improper payment by employers and delayed its investigations—leaving thousands of workers unable to recoup lost wages.



## 8 | Tokyo

### A Japan Without Sushi?

Japanese fishermen staged their largest ever one-day strike on July 15, involving some 200,000 boats, as thousands of seamen massed in Tokyo to demand curbs on soaring fuel costs. The price of heavy fuel used for fishing boats has tripled since 2003, threatening to cripple an industry already hobbled by depleted fish populations. Japan is the world's second largest consumer of seafood.

# \$13.4

MILLION

Fannie Mae CEO Daniel Mudd's 2007 salary—up 7% from the previous year, as shares fell 33% and the mortgage company lost nearly \$2.1 billion

## 9 | New York

### Measuring America

Since 1990 the U.N. has published an annual human-development report sizing up nations' progress in ensuring their citizens' health, education and standard of living. In *The Measure of America*, social-science researchers used the same standards to put the U.S. under the microscope and came up with some striking results. While the U.S. ranks 12th globally for human development, many Americans are being left behind:



#### HEALTH

1 in 6 Americans does not have health insurance



#### EDUCATION

1 in 4 Americans does not graduate from high school on time



#### INCOME

1 in 5 American children lives in poverty

## 10 | North Carolina

### Military Murders



Authorities discovered the body of Army nurse 2nd Lieut. Holley Wimunc in the woods near Camp Lejeune on July 13—the third female soldier murdered in North Carolina this year. Her husband Marine Cpl. John Wimunc was charged on July 15 in her killing. He is due back in court in August.

#### PREVIOUS CASES:



**NAME:** Maria Lauterbach

**RANK:** Marine Lance Cpl.

**BASE:** Camp Lejeune

The pregnant woman's body was found in the backyard of Marine Cpl. Cesar Laurean, captured in April after fleeing to Mexico. He has denied killing her.



**NAME:** Megan Touma

**RANK:** Army Specialist

**BASE:** Fort Bragg

The body of Touma, also pregnant, was found in a Fayetteville motel bathroom in June. No one has been charged with her murder.

### What They're Listening to in France



French First Lady Carla Bruni might blame hubby Nicolas Sarkozy for the lukewarm reviews of her latest folk-pop album, *Comme Si Rien N'Etait* (As If Nothing Happened). Though nearly half a million people logged on to the chanteuse's website before the much hyped July 11 release, sales are slow, and 55% of French voters think Sarkozy is merely using his wife to boost his image. With lyrics like "my lord, my darling, my orgy" (which presumably refer to Sarkozy)—that's quite an image indeed.



# 16

Age of Canadian-born Guantánamo detainee Omar Khadr in newly released footage of his interrogation. Khadr, now 21, has spent a quarter of his life in Gitmo



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# Verbatim

**'It was never about the money. We just wanted water.'**

**RICHARD KENNEDY JR.**, of Zanesville, Ohio, after a jury ruled that city officials denied a mostly black neighborhood access to public water for nearly 50 years; the case's 67 plaintiffs were awarded a total of \$11 million



**'You really are an enigma to me.'**

**JOE BIDEN**, Delaware Senator, to Attorney General Michael Mukasey, in reference to Mukasey's tendency to dance around questions



**'They did come home together, just not the way we wanted.'**

**JIM WARING**, director of New England Caring for Our Military, after the bodies of two U.S. soldiers—Army Sergeant Alex Jimenez and Private Byron W. Fouty—were discovered in Iraq a year after their abduction by insurgents



**'Socialism means social justice and equality, but equality of rights, of opportunities, not of income.'**

**RAUL CASTRO**, Cuban President, warning citizens to prepare for a reduction in government subsidies



**'If Budweiser is made by a different country, I don't drink Budweiser anymore. I'll go back to Wild Turkey.'**

**JORDAN MOORE**, 21-year-old resident of St. Louis, Mo., on the \$52 billion sale of iconic American brewery Anheuser-Busch to InBev NV of Belgium. Wild Turkey is owned by French company Pernod Ricard SA



**'If it isn't fire or flood, it's the mud.'**

**CHRISTINA LILLETHAL**, California's interagency fire spokeswoman, on the violent thunderstorms that have triggered mud slides in the disaster-ravaged state



**'Nerves don't play a part in this.'**

**CRYSTLE STEWART**, Miss USA, in an interview before she tripped and fell during the Miss Universe 2008 contest



## Back & Forth

### Ironic or Idiotic?

From politicians and journalists to cartoonists and comedians, the July 21 cover of the *New Yorker*, which depicts Barack Obama and his wife as fist-bumping, flag-burning terrorists in the Oval Office, set off a flurry of heated reactions the day it hit newsstands

#### JULY 13

**'Most readers will see it as tasteless and offensive.'**

**Bill Burton**, Obama spokesman, blasting the magazine's "satirical lampoon"

#### JULY 13

**'We completely agree with the Obama campaign.'**

**Tucker Bounds**, McCain spokesman

#### JULY 13

**'In a way, this is Colbert in print.'**

**David Remnick**, editor of the *New Yorker*, likening the cover to comedian Stephen Colbert's mocking portrayal of a right-wing newscaster

#### JULY 13

**'It's a completely valid satirical point to make—and it's perfectly valid for Obama not to like it.'**

**Stephen Colbert**, comedian

#### JULY 13

**'That's the problem with satire. A lot of people won't get the joke. Or won't want to.'**

**Andrew Malcolm**, of the Los Angeles Times, saying the cover lacked context or a caption

#### JULY 13

**'It's a recruitment poster for the right wing.'**

**Jack Tapper**, of ABC News, on how the cover could be misused by Obama's opponents

#### JULY 13

**'Will the two candidates ban sarcasm if they win?'**

**Ted Rall**, president-elect of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists, mocking the outcry



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<sup>11</sup>Source: Strategic Insight, 3/31/08. Based on long-term tax-free income fund assets.

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# A Brief History Of:

## Un-Retirement



**S**O MUCH FOR GOING GENTLY INTO THAT GOOD NIGHT. Four months after a tearful press conference that left an entire state of Cheesheads in mourning, storied Green Bay Packers quarterback Brett Favre announced he wants to return from retirement. The only problem: the Packers might be ready to wrap up his legacy, even if he isn't.

Favre, 38, is certainly not the first athlete to flip-flop on bidding farewell to his game. Pitcher Roger Clemens, the king of comebacks, has retired a total of three times. Lance Armstrong left cycling in 1996 to battle cancer and returned to win seven consecutive Tour de France titles. Other stars have re-emerged to save a struggling franchise, like Michael Jordan, who proclaimed his 1995 return to the Chicago Bulls after a failed bid at pro baseball with a two-word press release: "I'm back." The deathless *Rocky* franchise aside, the "sweet science" seems to specialize in sequels: Muhammad Ali re-entered the ring three years after the New York State Boxing Commission revoked his license for refusing to fight in Vietnam, while George Foreman, who quit boxing in 1974, became the oldest fighter to win a major heavyweight title 20 years later. And it's not just athletes: in 2006, Barbra Streisand fans nearly took their idol to court when the singer announced a series of farewell shows—seven years after her last "last-ever" tour.

Blame the homecomings on boredom, nostalgia or an indomitable drive to compete ("I got the itch," Favre reportedly told teammate Al Harris). But not all comebacks are success stories. Just ask Bjorn Borg, who left tennis in 1983 and un-retired in 1991, wooden racquet in hand. He didn't win a single match that year. —BY M.J. STEPHEY

### 17 years ... and counting?

The Packers had planned to retire Favre's No. 4 jersey at their Sept. 8 season opener

### HELLO AGAIN

**1975** Brazilian soccer star Pelé emerges from "semi-retirement" to play for the New York Cosmos, boosting the sport's recognition in the U.S.



**1991** At 41, swimmer Mark Spitz, who set seven records during the 1972 Olympics, fails to qualify for the 1992 Games

**1992** After 20 years of obscurity, chess master Bobby Fischer defeats Boris Spassky in a match in Yugoslavia that violates U.S. sanctions



**2005** Ricky Williams returns to the NFL a year after testing positive for marijuana and retiring from sports

### THE SKIMMER



**The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How the War on Terror Turned into a War on American Ideals**

By Jane Mayer  
(Doubleday; 392 pages)

**FIVE DAYS AFTER 9/11,** Dick Cheney famously said that to combat terrorism, "We'll have to work sort of the dark side." Mayer's new book argues that he meant what he said: "For the first time in its history," she writes, "the United States sanctioned government officials to physically and psychologically torment U.S.-held captives, making torture the official law of the land in all but name."

The author, an investigative reporter for the *New Yorker*, meticulously demonstrates that the Administration, fully aware that as many as a third of the detainees in Guantánamo may have had no connection to terrorism, still proceeded with medieval treatment that the Red Cross warned was "categorically" torture. Mayer's work (nearly 400 pages of sometimes graphic detail) may defeat the casual reader. But her account of secret prisons, black-hooded renditions in the middle of the night and unexplained detainee deaths is necessary reading for those who would understand how the Bush Administration came to turn away from the light.

—BY ANDREA SACHS

**READ ✓**  
**SKIM**  
**TOSS**



# Milestones



## Tony Snow

THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS corps is a temperamental group, and by the spring of 2006 its attitude toward George W. Bush and his past two press secretaries was, at best, hostile: the first, Ari Fleischer, had proved capable but combative; the second,

Scott McClellan, had inadvertently misled the press about the White House's role in the leak of a CIA officer's identity.

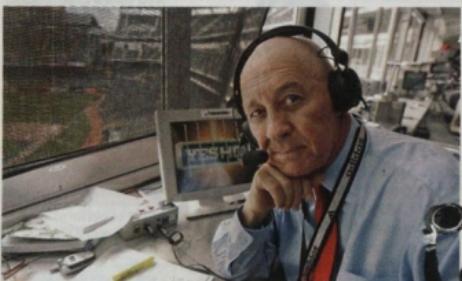
It took a particular kind of character to walk into that environment and attempt to turn it around. It's hard to imagine anyone could have done it better than Tony Snow,

who died July 12 at age 53 after a second battle with colon cancer.

Snow was unabashed in his defense of the Administration but respectful, even helpful, to reporters on the beat. His experience as a Fox News broadcaster and radio personality was obvious; his quick wit and verbal dexterity made him fun to spar with, while his grasp of complicated policy details made him remarkably effective. The clincher for a skeptical press corps was his disarming honesty. When he didn't have an answer, he said the rarest words in Washington: "I don't know."

In 2007, Snow returned to the podium after five weeks of cancer treatment. "Not everybody will survive cancer," he said. "But on the other hand, you have got to realize you've got the gift of life, so make the most of it. That is my view, and I'm going to make the most of my time with you."

— BY MASSIMO CALABRESI



## Bobby Murcer

IN NEW YORK, IF YOU DON'T fulfill your on-field expectations, they usually run you out of town. Bobby Murcer, who died on July 12 at the age of 62, didn't live up to his billing as the next Mickey Mantle, a fellow Oklahoma boy whom he succeeded in center field. Though a fine player

and a five-time All-Star, Murcer never sniffed the Hall of Fame. Yet with his class, grace and a good ole Southern charm he shared with fans for 23 years in the broadcast booth, he was one of the most beloved Yankees.

With a sweet lefty swing fit for

Yankee Stadium's short right-field porch, Murcer was the best player on some middling Yankee teams of the late '60s and early '70s. In 1983, George Steinbrenner gave Murcer a full 30 minutes to decide if he wanted to end his playing days to move into the booth. He wisely accepted, teaming with the late Phil (Scooter) Rizzuto to form one of the best buddy acts in broadcasting.

Murcer fought through brain cancer to call games last season. "Though I've become something of a weeper," he wrote in his autobiography, *Yankee for Life*, released this spring. "I find myself laughing as much as I ever did, if not more." Somewhere he and Scooter are keeping them hootin'.

— BY SEAN GREGORY



**DIED** Borrowing the name from his parents' coffee shop in Japan, Hiroaki (Rocky)

Aoki founded the first Benihana steak house in New York City in 1964, incorporating his homeland's teppanyaki style of cooking that called on chefs to perform with a flourish in front of guests. While his company later grew to nearly 100 restaurants worldwide, Aoki's ambition wasn't limited to restaurants. A man with diverse interests, Aoki was once a member of Japan's Olympic wrestling team, a driver in the notorious (and illegal) cross-country Cannonball Run and one of the few people to traverse the Pacific in a hot-air balloon. He was 69.

■ She is best known for portraying Scarlett O'Hara's younger sister Suellen in 1939's *Gone With the Wind*, but during her career, actress Evelyn Keyes appeared in nearly 50 films.

She gave notable performances in movies including *The Jolson Story*, but despite her onscreen successes, she never managed to land a career-changing role. Still, Keyes made the most of her time in Hollywood

in other ways, famously dating some of the most sought-after men of her day. She was 91.



■ Considered by many the father of modern cardiac surgery, Dr. Michael DeBakey pioneered techniques and devices that revolutionized his field, and still persist today. In 1932, while in medical school, DeBakey invented a pump that became a critical part of machines that later enabled open-heart surgery. He was one of the first to recognize the link between smoking and lung cancer, and he performed the first successful coronary bypass. An adamant perfectionist, DeBakey also provided medical advice to some of the most influential leaders of the 20th century, including President John F. Kennedy and Russian leader Boris Yeltsin. He was 99.



James

# Poniewozik

## That's Not Funny! The flap over the New Yorker's Obama cover shows why our body politic needs to lighten up

GEORGE CARLIN DIED JUST WHEN WE needed him. The comedian made a career out of saying the things you were not supposed to say: on TV, in polite company, in the political arena. Now, the summer he left us, politicians and their followers are on a taking-offense offensive, adding more by the day—earnestly or with calculation—to the list of forbidden humor.

The most glaring recent example was the *New Yorker* cover that satirized the smears against Barack Obama and his wife. In a Dogwood sandwich of stereotypes, cartoonist Barry Blitt drew Barack (dressed in a turban) and Michelle (with an Angela Davis 'fro and an AK-47) exchanging a fist bump in the White House while a portrait of Osama bin Laden looks on and an American flag burns in the fireplace.

Obama had just come off the other side of a comedy controversy, after Bernie Mac went to an Obama event and told dirty jokes (a.k.a. what Bernie Mac does for a living). Comics Randi Rhodes and Penn Jillette took heat for nasty jokes about Hillary Clinton; John McCain, for joking about using U.S. cigarette exports as a weapon to kill Iranians. Partisans argued over whether *Saturday Night Live* was more unfair to Obama than Comedy Central was to Clinton. Across America, the body politic is busily making mountains out of droll hills.

**Has America lost its sense of humor?** If it seems that way, perhaps that's because dourness is effective politics. In Minnesota, former *SNL* comic Al Franken hit

trouble in his Senate race because of the dark legacy of his past: not drug use or infidelity but a joke he made in 1995 about *60 Minutes'* Andy Rooney being a rapist. His opponent, Norm Coleman, and Coleman's surrogates jumped on the joke, accusing Franken of thinking rape is funny.

Of course, Franken's joke was never about rape being funny but about the absurdity of imagining a beloved TV



curmudgeon as a rapist. That may not be your cup of tea, but it's the same kind of dark impulse that inspires gender-conscious comedian Sarah Silverman's humor: "I was raped by a doctor—which is so bittersweet for a Jewish girl." Does that mean she hates women too?

There is such productive tension between politics and comedy because the two fields are so different. Politics is about biting your tongue and sticking to bland bromides (for which you have to blame not just politicians but also voters and the gaffe-happy media). Comedy is about tearing off scabs and unveiling anxieties. In a race

that's so much about identity taboos—an old guy is running against a black guy who defeated a white lady—we need that more than ever. Yet the fear of sounding bigoted is precisely what has made (white, male) late-night comics and their (largely white) audiences tentative. (Dave Chappelle, your country needs you!) In June, Jon Stewart had to assure his audience after an Obama joke, "You're allowed to laugh at him."

Comedy, good comedy, is not just unsafe; it's uncontrollable—satire most of all. Satire takes a real position and exaggerates it to the point of absurdity. By nature, it is, if it is any good, subject to interpretation. The knock on the *New Yorker* cover was like the old critique of Archie Bunker: that some idiot bigot somewhere might take it literally and enjoy it.

This is why true believers suspect satirists, even those—as for liberals upset with the *New Yorker*—in their own camp. Satirists don't make crystal clear how you're supposed to read their work. They don't give you a road map to correct thinking, because a joke explained is neither funny nor persuasive. They give voice to the enemy's beliefs. And this makes it easy to call them traitors.

Suspicion of irony and satire, in fact, is a great unifier of the left and the right. Daniel Radosh, in his book *Rapture Ready!*, about Christian pop culture, explains why irony is anathema to Fundamentalist entertainers: it is too dangerous to introduce the slightest possibility that someone might not get the joke and thus might be led to moral error. Better safe than funny.

**All this hypersensitivity comes, ironically—sorry!**—as political comedy is surging: not just Jay Leno and David Letterman but now Stewart and Stephen Colbert, online satirists and news hosts like Keith Olbermann, who is as much comic as anchor.

These commentators are so effective (and more popular, among some audiences, than the straight media they've supplanted) precisely because they spray seltzer in the face of the official, inoffensive, phony public discourse. Unlike many politicians, they say what they think; unlike much of the media, they trust their audience's intelligence. That we should rely so heavily on them to do so is the biggest joke in American public life. I wish I could laugh.

**Satirists don't make crystal clear how you're supposed to read their work. They give voice to the enemy's beliefs. And this makes it easy to call them traitors**

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Extra Money

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## Crisis? What Crisis? Another month, another emergency resolved. But Washington can't bail us out forever

**IT'S GETTING TO BE A FAMILIAR RITUAL.** Markets panic. A bunch of G-men in dark suits interrupt their routines for an emergency meeting or a conference call to piece together a rescue plan. They announce the plan. Panic subsides. Then, a week to a couple of months later, it starts all over again.

I count six such episodes since August 2007. In the early days, the Federal Reserve Board did all the work and usually made its big announcement on a Friday. Since then, Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson has moved to the fore, and he picked a Sunday afternoon to float his proposal for bolstering beleaguered mortgage giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. The basic pattern, though, remains the same: Financial tizzy. Dramatic government action. Period of reduced tizzy. Repeat.

**Is this cycle ever going to end?** It has to someday, although at this point only a fool or a psychic would dare predict when. The more important question may be, What the heck does it all mean for people without Bloomberg terminals and subscriptions to the *Financial Times*?

For the financial crowd, this may well be—as is oft proclaimed—the worst crisis since the Great Depression. But you don't have to agree with Phil Gramm that this is a “mental recession” to acknowledge that things don't look quite so bleak beyond Wall Street—unless you're struggling to make payments on a house that's worth 30% less than the mortgage. Then you're in crisis. Most Americans aren't. The economy still seems to be growing.

**The response has shielded the economy from catastrophe. But it hasn't fixed the fact that millions of Americans got home loans they can't ever pay back**

Job losses have been manageable. Yes, people are very unhappy about the economy. But day to day, they're more worried about the price of gas than the soundness of the financial system.

In part, that's testimony to the success of those G-men in dark suits. (There are women involved, but they're a distinct



minority at Treasury and the Fed; men in light-colored suits are even rarer.) The U.S. government is a far bigger, more activist presence in financial markets than it was in the early 1930s, and this activism has staved off the kind of financial breakdown that sparked the Depression.

You can see this most clearly in the case of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which buy mortgages from banks, thrifts and mortgage brokers and repackage them for sale to investors around the world. The two government-chartered companies have, together with the Federal Housing Administration, been the main factors in keeping mortgage-lending going in the U.S. since the market

for private mortgage-backed securities collapsed last summer. They've been able to keep financing mortgages because of the widespread belief that if they faltered, the government would step in to make buyers of their mortgage securities whole. If Paulson and the Fed hadn't stepped in when Fannie and Freddie faltered in early June, the companies might have stopped buying loans and the housing market might have stopped functioning.

**All this activism comes at a price.** The Fed's rate cuts have fueled inflation and undermined the dollar, now trading at about \$1.60 to the euro. The Treasury's willingness to backstop Fannie and Freddie, which together are on the hook for \$5.2 trillion in mortgage debt—just slightly less than what the U.S. government owes investors—is already sparking a bit of worry about the soundness of T-bills and bonds. With more bailouts, that worry could snowball.

There are also valid concerns about the fairness and prudence of hitting up taxpayers for the missteps of well-compensated mortgage shills and Wall Street hucksters. “Socializing risk and privatizing reward,” Senator Chris Dodd has called it.

Finally, there's the matter of effectiveness. Washington's response has so far shielded the economy from the worst of the catastrophe in financial markets. But it hasn't fixed the problem that started the crisis: the fact that a few million Americans got home loans they can never pay back. The resulting foreclosures have been driving housing prices down and forcing lenders to retrench. The result is less credit for heavily indebted American consumers. In the second quarter of 2008, this credit crunch was counteracted by \$78 billion in stimulus checks—yet another of those government interventions. That boost is petering out. The likeliest next step, while not the Great Depression, is a recession that even Gramm will have to concede is more than just mental. Which could lead to a few more emergency meetings of the men in dark suits.



# Frenemies

John McCain has defied George W. Bush more than any other Republican, yet can't escape his shadow. An intimate look at the uneasy alliance that could cost McCain the election

BY JAMES CARNEY



**All aboard** After four years of mutual hostility, McCain, shown on Air Force One in 2004, campaigned hard for Bush's re-election

Photograph for TIME by Christopher Morris—VII

**I**T WAS IN PORTSMOUTH, OHIO, THE other day when a supporter neatly summed up the obstacle lying between John McCain and the White House. "When," the young man implored, "are you going to go out and say, 'Read my lips. I am not the third term of Bush'?"

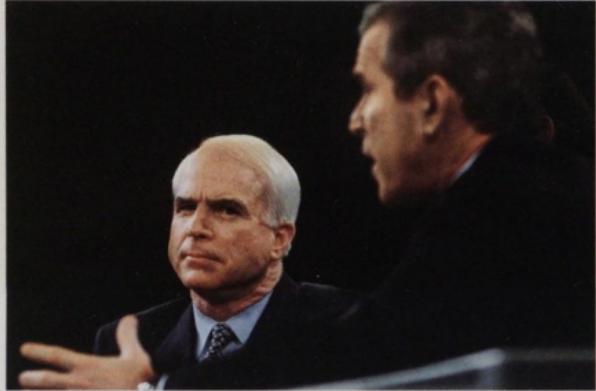
In a business of bitter rivalries and awkward alliances, few political relationships have been more bitter, awkward or downright tortured than John McCain's eight-year entanglement with George W. Bush. After their nasty 2000 battle for the GOP nomination, McCain's differences with Bush were so numerous and so deep that in 2001 he discussed with top Democratic leaders quitting the Republican Party. Three years later, McCain remained so estranged from the White House that John Kerry begged him to run with him on the Democratic ticket against Bush. Even though their rapprochement in 2004 drained some of the bile from their relationship, the two men have never been friends. At best, theirs is a partnership sustained by the benefits each has conferred on the other and a grudging admiration each has for the other's toughness.

McCain's embrace of Bush helped him emerge as the GOP nominee this year from a crowded field of flawed candidates. But it came with a steep price, for his ties to the President now act like leg weights in his race against Barack Obama. They make it possible for Democrats to argue that a vote for McCain is a vote for more of what the country has endured over the past eight years.

This, despite the fact that on campaign finance, tax cuts, health care, judicial nominations, the environment, the use of torture, the fate of Guantánamo Bay and other issues, McCain stood apart—and sometimes alone—from both his President and his party. For all that, he cannot escape Bush's shadow—in part because no Republican nominee could but also because McCain cannot afford to try, given how suspiciously he is regarded by conservatives. And so he answers questions like that one in Ohio with a fatalistic admission that he and the President are linked, for better and probably for worse. "Bush could beat him twice," says a friend who knows McCain well. "Imagine how bitter he feels."

#### The Crucible

JOHN S. MCCAIN AND GEORGE W. BUSH grew up in tandem, both favored, third-generation sons of prominent Washington families, accustomed to power and influence. Both were poor students and merry pranksters, and both had reputations as



drinkers as young men. But the Vietnam War marked a critical divergence: McCain entered Annapolis and wound up spending five years in a Hanoi prison camp, and Bush avoided the war by landing a coveted spot in the Texas Air National Guard. McCain was launched into politics by his heroism, Bush by his gold-star political name. Partly because of their age difference (Bush is a decade younger), and partly because Bush got a late start in the game, their paths had rarely crossed before they ran against each other for the Republican presidential nomination in 2000.

After he upset an overconfident Bush by 19 points in New Hampshire, it appeared that McCain might take South Carolina too, ending Bush's bid. In a Greenville, S.C., hotel room the day after his New Hampshire loss, Bush's high command agreed to attack McCain as a double-talking Washington insider and closet liberal. They also discussed the help they could expect from outside groups not legally permitted to coordinate with the campaign. Said a Bush adviser: "We gotta hit him hard."

They did. While the campaign itself launched a fusillade of negative attacks, a network of murky anti-McCain groups ran push polls spreading lies about McCain's record. They papered the state with leaflets claiming, among other things, that Cindy McCain was a drug addict and John had fathered a black child out of wedlock, complete with a family photograph. The dark-skinned girl in the photo was, in fact, the McCains' daughter Bridget, whom they adopted as an infant after Cindy met her on a charity mission at Mother Teresa's orphanage in Bangladesh. It was, even by *cbs* standards, unusually foul stuff.

Up to that point in the campaign, McCain had been more or less ambivalent

**Virtually every high-profile position McCain took seemed designed to antagonize the new President**

about Bush personally. "He thought Bush was a lightweight but a nice enough guy," says a close McCain associate. That ended in South Carolina. During a commercial break in a debate there, Bush put his hand on McCain's arm and swore he had nothing to do with the slander being thrown at his opponent. "Don't give me that shit," McCain growled. "And take your hands off me."

McCain lost South Carolina and, eventually, the nomination. He endorsed his opponent—but mocked the ritual, robotically telling reporters, “I endorse George Bush, I endorse George Bush, I endorse George Bush.” And months would pass before he would campaign for him against Al Gore. “The tension was palpable,” recalls Scott McClellan, the Bush aide who went on to become White House press secretary. “The two were cordial, but McCain would get that forced smile on his face whenever they were together.”

A Maverick in Full

**A MAVERICK IN D.C.** THE U.S. SENATE WAS SPLIT DOWN THE middle between Democrats and Republicans when Bush took office in January 2001. The Democratic leader, Tom Daschle, knew that all he needed to take control of the chamber was the defection of one Re-

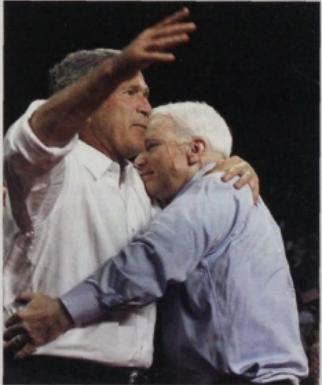
publican. Daschle had three targets, all of whom were finding themselves increasingly alienated from and isolated within the GOP: Jim Jeffords of Vermont, Lincoln Chafee of Rhode Island and John McCain of Arizona.

Jeffords and Chafee were members of a dying breed—the liberal New England Republican. McCain, on the other hand, was a Western conservative from Arizona who had gone to Congress as a Reagan Republican. But after the searing experience of getting entangled in the Keating Five scandal in the 1980s, McCain had grown increasingly independent, pursuing campaign-finance reform and other causes that made his fellow Republicans doubt his ideological convictions.

But it was his bid for the White House in 2000 that broadened McCain's appeal—and opened his eyes to his own potential clout. He ran as the candidate of reform—the anti-Establishment maverick—and while he lost, in the process he became the most popular politician in America. "That campaign changed him," says John Weaver, who was McCain's chief political adviser for a decade, until last summer when he left in a staff shake-up. "He became a rock star. On the trail he discovered all these new issues. How could he go back to the Senate and not talk about the need for a patients' bill of rights or stand up and say Bush's tax cuts were unfair?"

say Bush's tax cuts were unfair.

During Bush's first eight months in office, virtually every high-profile position McCain took seemed designed to antagonize the new President. "John did what he thought was right," says a close McCain associate. "If it happened to be something that ticked off Bush, so much the better." The antipathy was mutual. According to several veterans of the Bush White House,



there was an unofficial policy in effect to block people who had worked on McCain's campaign from getting any of the thousands of jobs the new Administration was doling out.

Dashle and other Democrats involved in the quiet efforts to woo McCain recall that he was willing to listen to their pitch that he quit the GOP in the spring of 2001 and become an independent. Most McCain loyalists insist now that he never seriously considered it. But they do concede that Ted Kennedy discussed the idea with McCain on more than one occasion. Mark Salter, McCain's closest aide, joined the Senator on that first visit to Kennedy's office and waited outside. "Teddy was just talking to me about switching parties," McCain told Salter when it was over. "What'd you tell him?" Salter asked. "No," replied McCain. "But he wants to talk to me again."

In another sign of unhappiness with the Bush regime, McCain's political advisers were exploring whether he could run for President, and win, as a third-party candidate against Bush in 2004. The assumption was that McCain was too old to wait until 2008 (he'll turn 72 in August) and too toxic within the party to run as a Republican again. "Not only was 2008 seen as too late, but we couldn't get our heads around the idea that he would be acceptable [to the GOP]," says one of those advisers. But running as an independent was deemed futile. "We looked at it, and it just wasn't feasible," the adviser says. "Third-party candidates don't win."

After Jeffords left the GOP, throwing the Senate to the Democrats, the White House grew briefly interested in McCain. Out of the blue, John and Cindy were invited to a private dinner in the residence

with George and Laura. It lasted all of an hour. When Congress passed the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance-reform bill in early 2002, the legislation and its chief sponsor were so popular that Bush chose to swallow hard and sign it. According to a former White House official who was involved in the discussion, the President rejected the idea of holding a public signing ceremony. "He didn't want to give McCain the satisfaction," says the former official. McCain was informed in a telephone call from a midlevel White House aide that the bill had finally become law.

Despite his public support for Bush after 9/11, McCain had deep misgivings about him as Commander in Chief. In March 2002, he and two other Senators were at the White House, briefing Condoleezza Rice, the National Security Adviser, about their recent meetings with European allies when Bush unexpectedly stuck his head in the door. "Are you all talking about Iraq?" the President asked, his voice tinged with schoolyard bravado. Before McCain and the others in the room could do more than nod, Bush waved his hand dismissively. "F--- Saddam," he said. "We're taking him out." And then he left.

McCain was appalled. He was a Republican, and a hawk, and exactly one year

#### For better or for worse

From left: McCain was furious at the debate in South Carolina, 2000; Kerry begged McCain to be his running mate in '04; an awkward hug on the '04 campaign trail; McCain visits Iraq in March

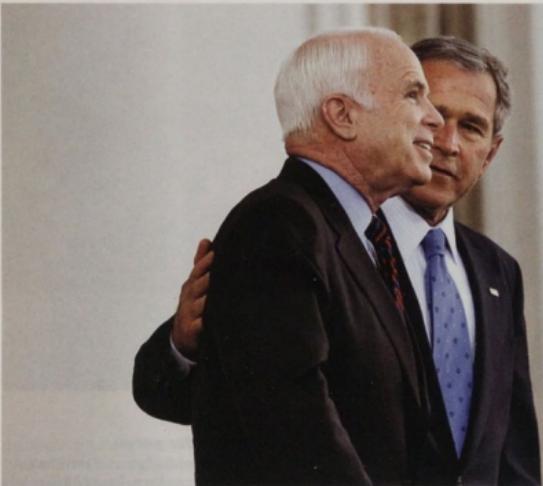
later he would enthusiastically support the decision to topple the Iraqi regime by force. But to McCain, his encounter with Bush that day was more evidence of the shallow intellect and dangerous self-regard possessed by the man to whom he had lost an acrimonious contest two years earlier. Later, McCain would retell the story and shake his head incredulously. "Can you believe this guy?" he asked. "He's the President!" He didn't say it, but the continuation of the thought hung in the air: Can you believe this guy is President—*instead of me?*

#### An Uneasy Truce

IN THE SPRING OF 2004, JOHN KERRY SECRETLY urged his fellow Vietnam vet to join him on a unity ticket. It was, to put it mildly, a full-court press: Kerry offered to make McCain both Vice President and Secretary of Defense and to give him control of foreign policy. Kerry lobbied McCain's wife Cindy and even enlisted the help of Warren Beatty, with whom McCain had become friendly. McCain turned Kerry down. Aides say he sincerely believed that Bush had been and would be a better President than Kerry.

By then it was dawning on McCain's circle of advisers that with no Vice President or other heir apparent to Bush in the mix, their man could run again in 2008—but he'd have to improve his standing within the GOP. In May 2004, without telling McCain, John Weaver asked Mark McKinon, Bush's ad man, to set up a meeting be-

**Kerry secretly lobbied McCain to join him on the ticket. But McCain believed Bush would be a better President**



**Mixed blessing** McCain won an endorsement from Bush in March, but the two men have kept their distance since

tween him and Karl Rove. Onetime allies in Texas, Weaver and Rove had been feuding since 1988. "This was historic. This was like the Hatfields sitting down with the McCoys," says McKinnon. Rove agreed to the meeting but wanted McKinnon there as a witness. At a Caribou coffee shop not far from the White House, McKinnon observed as Weaver and Rove buried the hatchet. Weaver suggested McCain was willing to campaign for the President's re-election. Rove seemed surprised. "We didn't know he would help," Rove said. "Nobody asked," replied Weaver.

It wasn't long before McCain was embracing Bush—literally. A photo of him awkwardly hugging the President has become the iconic image of their rapprochement, one that Democrats are already using against him. McCain, at least, took the embrace to heart: nobody campaigned harder for Bush's re-election than he did. The very fact that he'd fought so many times with the President only enhanced the value of his endorsement. "[McCain] was our most important surrogate," says Terry Nelson, who was political director of Bush's re-election campaign and, for a time, campaign manager for McCain's 2008 bid. But the two men remained situational allies, not friends. In the minutes before Bush's final debate with Kerry, McCain was full of kinetic energy as he delivered a pep talk to the President in a holding room. "This is the most important moment of your life!" he barked at Bush.

"You're gonna be great!" Later, Bush told aides that he found McCain's intensity off-putting. "McCain was wound up tight all the time on the campaign trail," says a Bush aide. "That's just not how the President is. He thought it was over the top."

#### Balancing Act

COMPARED WITH WHAT WENT BEFORE, says Weaver, relations between McCain and Bush in Bush's second term have been something like the Era of Good Feeling. True, McCain was among the first lawmakers of any party to take on Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld directly—and did so with such force and frequency that "it began to really annoy the President," says a former top aide to Bush. And for a brief moment in the fall of 2006, it seemed that McCain's truce with Bush would fall apart over the President's support for interrogation techniques that McCain, who is something of an expert on the subject, considered torture. But through all that, says a McCain associate, "it never got to

**'The President was never one to count McCain out, but he felt like Romney was the best positioned.'**

—A FORMER SENIOR BUSH AIDE

DEFCON 1." In April 2007, at an early gathering of GOP candidates before the party faithful in Des Moines, Iowa, McCain ladled praise on Bush. "I support him," he gushed, "and I believe in him."

But always, there were limits. The White House quietly pushed two other Republicans for the GOP nomination in 2005—first Bill Frist and then George Allen, both of whom flamed out. Even as some of his own top campaign advisers, including McKinnon, Nelson and Steve Schmidt, went to work for McCain, Bush doubted McCain's chances of winning the GOP nomination. "The President was never one to count McCain out," says a former senior Bush aide, "but he felt like [Mitt] Romney was the best positioned." Though his campaign has been coordinating with the White House through regular conference calls ever since he became the presumptive nominee, McCain has kept as much physical distance from Bush as possible. But there have been awkward moments. The President did McCain no favors, for example, when he stepped on the candidate's message last month by calling on Congress to authorize offshore oil drilling the day after McCain had done the same thing. "If that was orchestrated," says Ken Duberstein, a veteran GOP power broker, "both staffs should be shot."

While the two leaders agree on Iraq and McCain now claims to share Bush's commitment to tax cuts, a McCain presidency would in other ways bear only scant resemblance to the Bush years. On the environment, spending, government reform and other issues, McCain remains at odds with Bush. And the corporate ethos of this Administration would be replaced by something dramatically, and perhaps chaotically, less programmed. And yet most voters aren't going to forget their feelings about the current President when they cast their ballots in November. After McCain secured his party's nomination in March, he visited the White House to receive a Rose Garden endorsement from the President. "Dutiful" did not begin to describe the event. But McCain needed Bush's blessing to help him shore up support among conservatives.

He still does. He also knows, though, that the President is a liability with the moderates and swing voters who decide close elections. He laughed when asked whether he wanted Bush to campaign for him, suggesting the President's "busy schedule" might prevent it. For his part, Bush said he'd help in whatever way he could but that "it's not about me." McCain can only wish that were true. —WITH REPORTING BY WILL SCHULTZ AND KAREN TUMULTY/WASHINGTON ■

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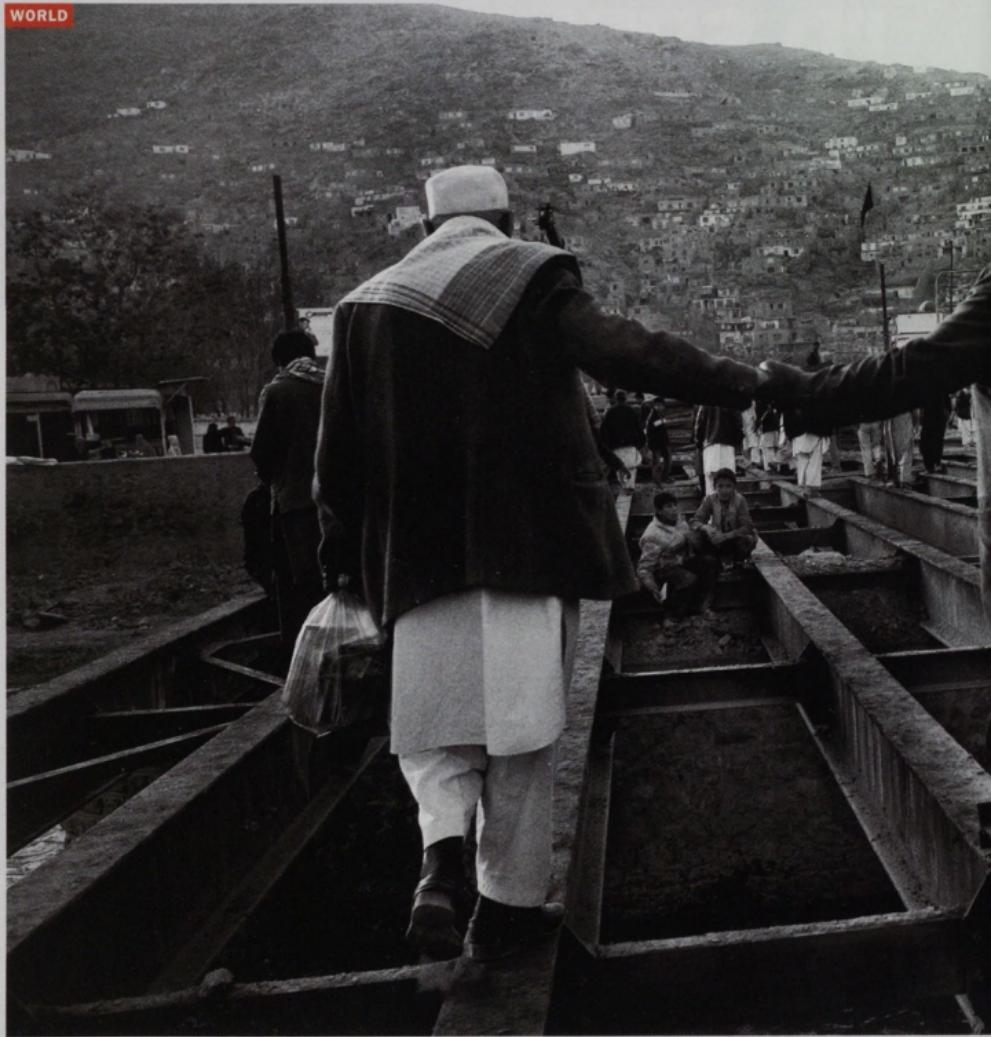
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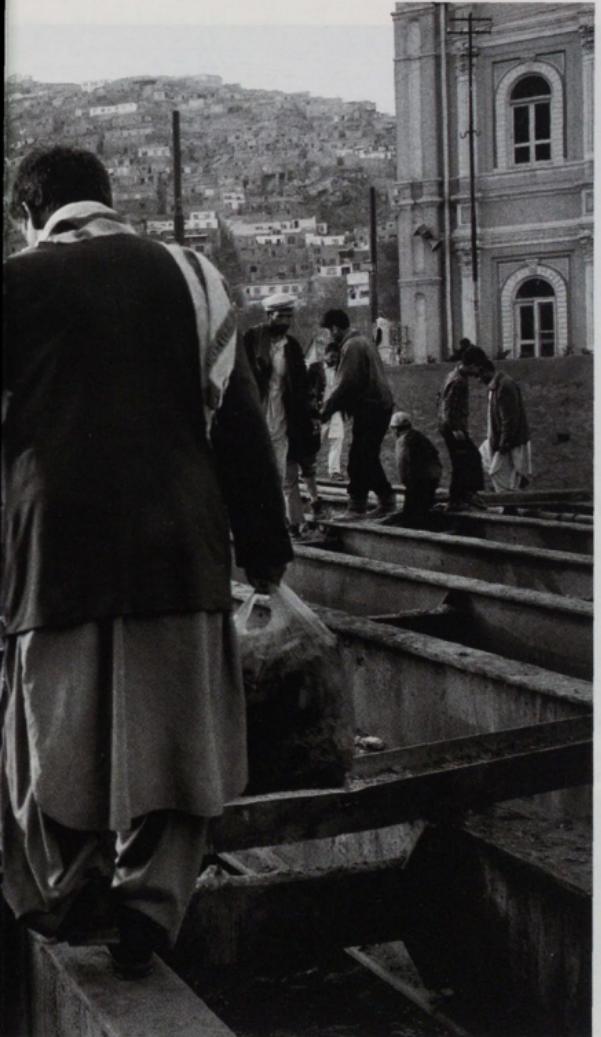
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# How to Save Afghanistan



**A little help from friends** Kabul residents cross an incomplete bridge. Infrastructure projects are the best way for the West to make a difference in the lives of Afghans

**\$15** BILLION

Total international aid disbursed in Afghanistan since the Taliban regime was toppled

**172**

Afghanistan's ranking, out of 179, in Transparency International's corruption index

As violence subsides in Iraq, it's surging in Afghanistan. A veteran diplomat and student of the country on what it really needs—and why more troops won't help

BY RORY STEWART/KABUL

IT IS SUMMER NOW IN KABUL, THE snow has largely melted from the 15,000-ft. (4,600 m) peaks, and I am sitting with my friends Hussein, Nabi and Zia in the garden of a 19th century fort. Nearby, 10 carpenters who work with my nongovernmental organization (NGO) are creating a library for a buyer in Tokyo. They're fitting slivers of wood into a delicate lattice and carving flowers into the walnut shutters. They work fast and smile often. But Nabi, a gentle-voiced 66-year-old cook, is not smiling. He is pessimistic about his country. "We have been promised progress by every government since 1973," he growls, "but it is getting worse and worse."

Nabi's pessimism is very common now in Afghanistan. There has been a dramatic series of recent attacks by the Taliban: a mass assault on a jail freed hundreds of prisoners, and a suicide bombing outside the Indian embassy on July 7 killed 40 and injured over 100. Many of these assaults are planned and supported from safe havens across the border in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Western troop casualties are climbing; the last two months exceeded the monthly death toll in Iraq. On July 13, nine U.S. soldiers were killed when Taliban fighters swarmed over their base in the eastern province of Kunar—the worst attack in three years.

But terrorism and insurgency are only part of what's going wrong in Afghanistan. In 2002, I walked safely along the length of the road between Herat and Obey in western Afghanistan. Recently aid workers were carjacked on that road, and it is now considered too dangerous for aid agencies, effectively closing the main access to the central regions of the country. In provinces close to Kabul, such as Wardak, Ghazni and Logar, which were easy to visit two years ago, foreigners are regularly attacked and girls' schools burned at will. Afghanistan produces 92% of the world's opium (used to make heroin) and 35% of its cannabis and has a

flourishing trade in looted antiquities. In a vicious cycle, narcotics, corruption and the absence of law and order are rotting the heart of the government and crippling the economy. Despite massive Western investment, Afghanistan is close to being a failed state.

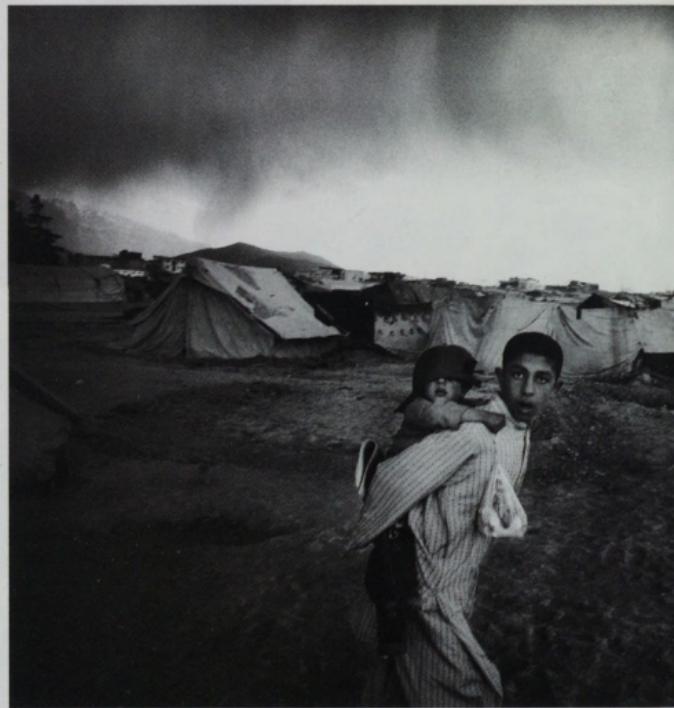
What should we do about it? Many policymakers want to throw more money and troops at the problem. Both Barack Obama and John McCain say that as President, they would send additional combat brigades—from 7,000 to 15,000 troops—to tame the insurgency in Afghanistan. At a June conference in Paris, Western governments committed an additional \$20 billion in aid, in the hope that this would finally bring success in counter-insurgency, counternarcotics, rule of law, governance and state-building—and eventually allow us to withdraw from Afghanistan with honor.

But just because Afghanistan has problems that need to be solved does not mean that the West can solve them all. My experience suggests that those pushing for an expansion of our military presence there are wrong. We don't need bold new plans and billions more in aid. Instead, we need less investment—but a greater focus on what we know how to do.

### What We've Done Right

WHEN I WALKED ACROSS AFGHANISTAN, shortly after the U.S.-led invasion had toppled the Taliban regime, there was no electricity in the 400 miles (640 km) between Herat and Kabul. The villages along the route were led by tribal chiefs, mullahs or guerrilla commanders who had little to do with their neighbors, let alone with the central government. Most districts that I visited had no schools or clinics. As a civil servant—I was on leave from my job in Britain's Foreign Office—I was surprised by how poor Afghanistan was and how ungoverned.

In 2006, after 11 months as a regional administrator in southern Iraq, I returned to Afghanistan to set up an NGO called the Turquoise Mountain to restore part of the old bazaar of Kabul and support traditional crafts. The garbage was then 7 ft. (2 m) deep in the streets, 200 yd. (180 m) from the presidential palace; there was no drainage, sewerage or water supply. Once famous traditional buildings were collapsing, and the craft-masters of ceramics, woodwork and jewelry were dying without passing on their skills. Most of the children in the area were not in school, most people were unemployed, few women were literate, and most of their children died before their first birthday.



**From hell to hopelessness** Refugees fleeing the Taliban insurgency, like these from Helmand province, flock to Kabul, where the government provides them with little support



**A lesson in self-reliance** Children prepare for class at a village school near Kunduz; tired of waiting for the government to build the school, villagers built it themselves



The past six years, however, have made me optimistic about many aspects of Afghanistan. The community with which I work in the old city is hardworking, decisive and determined. In less than two years, we have cleared mountains of garbage, established clinics and primary schools, created jobs, restored the buildings and shops of the bazaar and attracted visitors and customers back into the area. I have been impressed also by the flexible and imaginative support that we began to receive from private philanthropists around the world and from Canadian and American development agencies.

There has been dramatic progress in many other parts of the country. Since 2001, 6.4 million children have been educated, and there has been a massive increase in access to basic health care. Western funding and assistance have helped create an efficient central bank, a stable currency, an elected parliament, telecommunications and infrastructure projects and a credible army. Some foreign aid goes directly into the hands of elected councils in over 20,000 villages, allowing them to initiate their own rural

development projects. Many of the villages I visited six years ago now have electricity and access to clinics and schools.

### What's Gone Wrong

FOR ALL THOSE IMPROVEMENTS, HOWEVER, it's clear why my friend Nabi is so pessimistic. The government has not established its authority or credibility. Civil servants lack the most basic education and skills. Perhaps a quarter of teachers are illiterate, and the majority are educated only one grade level above their students (if they are teaching second grade, they have a third-grade education). Many civil servants are corrupt. The police are notoriously predatory and violent. In much of the center and the north of the country, communities have benefited from small amounts of investment in development, health and education, but their contact with civil servants is minimal, and people remain very poor. In the south and the east, along the Pakistani border, the vacuum of government has become an opportunity for gangsters and the Taliban. These are the areas where almost all the world's opium is produced and where Western forces are fighting a costly counterinsurgency campaign.

Many of these problems cannot be solved by the West, however many billions we spend or thousands of troops we deploy. Our money and expertise, which have helped make the central bank and the Afghan National Army professional and competent, cannot prevent the widespread corruption in the police and legal system. A central bank is relatively small, dealing with narrow issues such as currency and interest rates on which international economists can offer practical, technical advice. An army is able to develop its esprit de corps and drills in barracks, isolated from the broader society. But policemen and judges are much more connected to society and much more exposed to local politics and corruption. This is why most developing countries have relatively effective central banks and armies but corrupt and despised police forces. It's also why everyone finds it easier to build roads than to create rule of law, easier to build a school than a state. Afghans deal with most crimes outside the court system, using a traditional leader as an arbitrator. No amount of legal training can help a judge faced with drug lords who are prepared to kill his family. It is almost impossible for outsiders to reform this kind of system.

Fighting the Taliban is equally problematic. Western troops can win any conventional battle against ill-armed extremists, but both history and the latest doctrine on counterinsurgency suggest that ultimate victory will require control of Afghani-

stan's borders, hundreds of thousands of troops and a much stronger and more legitimate Afghan state, which could take Afghans decades to build. The West does not have the resources to match our ambitions in counterinsurgency, and we never will.

In any case, the preoccupations of the West—fighting terrorism and narcotics—are not the priorities of Afghans like Nabi, Zia and Hussein. Their major concerns are the state of the economy and basic services. Nabi has to keep working in a guesthouse kitchen at the age of 66 to feed his family. Like most other Afghans, he can barely afford bread: the price of flour has tripled in the past year as a result of a surge in global commodity prices. Unpredictable and uncontrollable events such as this may prove much more important than any international policy for the survival of the Afghan state. As Nabi says, "We are fed up with war. I am supporting five unemployed sons. Why can the government not create jobs?"

### Getting Out of the Way

SO WHAT EXACTLY SHOULD WE DO ABOUT Afghanistan now? First, the West should not increase troop numbers. In time, NATO allies, such as Germany and Holland, will probably want to draw down their numbers, and they should be allowed to do so. We face pressing challenges elsewhere. If we are worried about terrorism, Pakistan is more important than Afghanistan; if we are worried about regional stability, then Egypt, Iran or even Lebanon is more important; if we are worried about poverty, Africa is more important. A troop increase is likely to inflame Afghan nationalism because Afghans are more anti-foreign than we acknowledge and the support for our presence in the insurgency areas is declining. The Taliban, which was a largely discredited and backward movement, gains support by portraying itself as fighting for Islam and Afghanistan against a foreign military occupation.

Nor should we increase our involvement in government and the economy. The more responsibility we take in Afghanistan, the more we undermine the credibility and responsibility of the Afghan government and encourage it to act irresponsibly. Our claims that Afghanistan is the "front line in the war on terror" and that "failure is not an option" have convinced the Afghan government that we need it more than it needs us. The worse things become, the more assistance it seems to receive. This is not an incentive to reform. Increasing our commitment to Afghanistan gives us no leverage over the government.

Afghans increasingly blame us for the problems in the country: the evening news

is dominated by stories of wasted development aid. The government claims that in 2007, \$1.3 billion out of \$3.5 billion of aid was spent on international consultants, some of whom received more than \$1,000 a day and whose policy papers are often ignored by Afghan civil servants and are invisible to the population. Our lack of success despite our wealth and technology convinces ordinary Afghans to believe in conspiracy theories. Well-educated people have told me that the West is secretly backing the Taliban and that the U.S.'s main objective was to steal Afghanistan's emeralds, antiquities and uranium—and that we knew where Osama bin Laden was but had decided not to catch him.

### Playing to Our Strengths

A SMARTER STRATEGY WOULD FOCUS ON two elements: more effective aid and a more limited military objective. We should target development assistance in provinces where we have a track record of success. Our investment goes further in stable and welcoming places like Hazarajat than it can in hostile, insurgency-dominated areas like Kandahar and Helmand, where we have to spend millions on security and the locals do not contribute to the project and will not sustain it after our departure. We should focus on meeting the Afghan government's request for more investment in agricultural irrigation, energy and roads. And we should increase our support to the most effective departments, such as education, health and rural development; they are good for the reputation of the Afghan state and the West. Creating more educated, healthier women and men and better transport, communications and electrical infrastructure may be only part of the story, but they are essential for Afghanistan's economic future.

Our efforts in nation-building, governance and counternarcotics should be smaller and more creative. This is not because these issues are unimportant; they are vital for Afghanistan's future. But only the Afghan government has the legitimacy, the knowledge and the power to build a nation. The West's supporting role is at best limited and uncertain. The recent elimination of the opium crop in Nangarhar, for instance, was driven by the will and charisma of a local governor and owed little to Western-funded "capacity-building" seminars. The greatest recent improvements in local government have come about through the replacement of local governors rather than through hundred-million-dollar training programs. Since these successes are often difficult to predict, we should invest in numerous smaller opportunities rather than bet all our chips on a few large programs.

Our military strategy, meanwhile, should focus on counterterrorism—not counterinsurgency. Our presence has so far prevented al-Qaeda from establishing training camps in Afghanistan. We must continue to prevent it from doing so. But our troops should not try to hold territory or chase the Taliban around rural areas. We should also use our presence to steer Afghanistan away from civil war and provide some opportunity for the Afghans themselves to create a more humane, well-governed and prosperous country. This policy would require far fewer troops over the next 20 years, and they would probably be predominately special forces and intelligence operatives.

This strategy is far from ideal. But it's the best option we've got. It might not allow us to build an Afghan nation. It would involve a very long-term policy of containment and management, and it may never lead to a clear victory or exit. But unlike abandoning Afghanistan entirely, as we did in 1990, it would not leave a vacuum filled by dangerous neighbors. And unlike a policy of troop increases, this strategy would be less costly, more popular with voters, more sustainable in the long term, less of a distraction from other global priorities and less likely to alienate Afghan nationalists and undermine the Afghan state.

Transforming a nation of 32 million people is a task not for the West but for Afghans. Creating a narrative of national identity is not a technical engineering problem but more a question of mythmaking. Afghanistan's future must combine elders like Nabi with the aspirations of 5 million refugees, recently returned from Pakistan and Iran. And it will be influenced by even larger forces: the eddies of local ideologies, charisma, the fundamentals of population growth and natural resources, global commodity prices and the nation's relations with its neighbors, from Iran and Pakistan to China. It will draw on government bureaucracies and opaque tribal structures, on old constitutions and new cultures, on religion and luck. Afghans have the energy, the pride and the competence to lead that process. The West, however, does not. It should not waste its money, its lives and its reputation trying to do the impossible. It should invest in what it does well. We do not have a moral obligation to do what we cannot do. ■



*Stewart lives in Kabul and is the author of *The Places in Between* and *Prince of the Marshes*. He was recently appointed the Ryan Professor and the director of the Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard University*



## In Their Words. The candidates' strategies for Afghanistan

### John McCain

Time for an Afghan Surge

The status quo in Afghanistan is not acceptable. Security has deteriorated, and our enemies are on the offensive. From the moment the next President walks into the Oval Office, he will face critical decisions about Afghanistan. Senator Barack Obama believes we can't win in Afghanistan without losing in Iraq. In fact, the success of the surge in Iraq shows us the



**Happier times** U.S. soldiers patrol outside Kabul and distribute medicine in 2006. In recent months, the Afghan capital has come under repeated attack by the Taliban

force that will go after al-Qaeda, train Iraqi security forces and protect U.S. interests. But we must recognize that the central front in the war on terror is not in Iraq, and it never was. The central front is in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is unacceptable that almost seven years after 9/11, those responsible for the attacks remain at large. If another attack on our homeland occurs, it will likely come from this same region where 9/11 was planned. Yet today we have five times more troops in Iraq than Afghanistan.

Senator McCain said just months ago that "Afghanistan is not in trouble because of our diversion to Iraq." I could not disagree more.

I will send at least two additional combat brigades to Afghanistan and use this commitment to seek greater contributions—with fewer restrictions—from NATO allies. I will focus on training Afghan security forces and supporting an Afghan judiciary. I will once and for all dismantle al-Qaeda and the Taliban. The solution in Afghanistan is not just military—it is political and economic. That is why I would also increase our nonmilitary aid by \$1 billion. These resources should fund projects at the local level to impact ordinary Afghans, including the development of alternative livelihoods for poppy farmers. And we must demand better performance from the Afghan government through tough anticorruption safeguards on aid.

Finally, we need a stronger and sustained partnership between Afghanistan, Pakistan and NATO to secure the border, to take out terrorist camps and to crack down on cross-border insurgents. We should condition some assistance to Pakistan on their action to take the fight to the terrorists within their borders. And if we have actionable intelligence about high-level al-Qaeda targets, we must act if Pakistan will not or cannot.

The American people deserve a President who understands the real threats we face, and they deserve a strategy to overcome them. We cannot afford another four years of misunderstood and misguided priorities.

way to succeed in Afghanistan. It is by applying the tried-and-true principles of counterinsurgency used in the surge—which Senator Obama opposed—that we will win in Afghanistan.

Our commanders in Afghanistan say they need at least three additional brigades. I will ensure they get the troops they need by asking NATO to send more and sending U.S. troops as they become available. But more than troops, we need a unified command and a nationwide civil-military campaign plan that is focused on providing security for the population. A successful counterinsurgency requires that we use all the instruments of our national power and that military and civilian leaders work together, at all levels, under a joint plan. Too often in Afghanistan, this is not happening. We need an Afghanistan czar, and I will appoint a highly respected national-security leader, based in the White House and reporting directly to the President, whose sole mission will be to ensure we bring the war to a successful end.

It's time for an Afghan surge as

well. The Afghan army is already a great success story: a multiethnic, battle-tested fighting force. The problem is, it's too small, with a projected strength of only 80,000 troops. We need to at least double the size of the Afghan army and establish an international trust fund to provide long-term financing for the effort. We also need a stronger diplomatic effort. I will appoint a special presidential envoy to address disputes between Afghanistan and its neighbors.

A special focus of our regional strategy must be Pakistan, where terrorists today enjoy sanctuary. We must strengthen local tribes in the border areas who are willing to fight the foreign terrorists and convince Pakistanis that this is their war as much as it is ours. Senator Obama has spoken about taking unilateral military action in Pakistan. In trying to sound tough, he has made it harder for the people whose support we most need to provide it. I will not bluster, and I will not make idle threats. But when I am Commander in Chief, there will be nowhere the terrorists can run and nowhere they can hide. ■

## Barack Obama

### Refocusing on the Central Front

What has long been missing from our national debate is an honest and serious discussion about the strategic consequences of our long-term presence in Iraq.

This war prevents us from tackling nearly every serious threat we face, from a resurgent al-Qaeda in Afghanistan to a hostile Iranian regime intent on possessing nuclear weapons to the spread of extremist ideology around the world.

Instead of being distracted from the most pressing threats that we face, I will harness all elements of American power to overcome them. My first order as Commander in Chief will be to end the war in Iraq and refocus our efforts on Afghanistan and our broader security interests. Let me be clear—my plan would not abandon Iraq. It is in our strategic interest to maintain a residual



# Beijing Magic

On the eve of the Summer Games, China's capital is buzzing with a hot cultural scene, creative entrepreneurs and a collection of eye-popping buildings. But our Beijing bureau chief remembers how it used to be

BY SIMON ELEGANT/BEIJING

**L**U HAO IS PUTTING THE FINISHING touches on his latest work, a huge portrait of a pigtailed young girl. Dressed in slacks, a pink polo shirt and loafers, Lu chats casually with a string of visitors who drift in and out of his studio. Some are fellow artists and dealers from the community several thousand strong occupying the courtyards and alleys here in Songzhuang, in Beijing's eastern suburbs. The conversation ranges from gossip about colleagues through the sources of artistic inspiration to the merits of colleges in Australia, where Lu's son is studying. Later, Lu and I hop into his

brand-new, lime green Jaguar and drive over to the site of the sprawling house he is having built overlooking a small lake. Proudly showing off the view from the second floor, Lu extols the virtues of living in Songzhuang. "All my friends and colleagues have moved here, so we can get in contact easily. And it's cheap here too. This whole house is only costing me \$800,000 to build. Imagine what I would get for that in New York. Nothing!"

This Olympic summer, Beijing is buzzing. All over the city, iconic buildings designed by some of the world's best-known architects are changing the





skyline—here a stadium like a bird's nest, there a media-company headquarters built in such crazy elevations that you wonder how it will stand up. But for me, it is the casual prosperity so evident in Songzhuang that proves that this is a city going through a revolution. For I can remember precisely the situation faced by artists when I visited Beijing for the first time, in 1994. Then the art scene was still underground, and most artists were poor, often living in squalid conditions. Meeting with foreign reporters could be a problem, I was told, because the authorities had just come down particularly hard on artists, who were still (as if Mao Zedong had yet been alive) seen as a source of "spiritual pollution." Many artists weren't even in Beijing, having fled the city after the bloody suppression of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations in 1989.

Nowadays, many of those exiles have returned home and joined one of the most exciting contemporary-art scenes in the world. But the explosion in Beijing's arts world is only one aspect of a broader cultural, social and even commercial flowering of the capital, until recently a symbol of authoritarian conformity to many outside China. Much has been written about the transformation of Beijing's hardware ahead of this summer's Olympic Games—both the whirlwind of development that has swept away huge swaths of the old city and the waves of cars that are choking its roads and poisoned its air. But to those of us who live here, it is the metamorphosis of the city's "software," as it hurtles toward becoming one of the globe's great cities, that is really striking. "It is a horrible place to live, but I wouldn't be anywhere else on the planet" is how Kaiser Kuo, a Chinese-American rock star turned digital guru, describes Beijing today. "You get addicted to the excitement, speed and change. There's nowhere else like it."

Beijing today is a vibrant, increasingly confident metropolis of nearly 20 million, the proud leader of a national social and cultural transformation that is developing hand in hand with China's amazing economic boom. In culture, the blossoming encompasses performance art, painting, sculpting, rock 'n' roll, experimental music, film, poetry and literature. Commercially, where once it conceded all to Shanghai, China's longtime economic powerhouse, Beijing is now at the forefront of a wave of entrepreneurship in

telecoms, media, software and the Web. Socially too, Beijing is on fire, with new clubs, bars and restaurants opening every day. The city, which can still mark the year its first privately owned restaurant opened (1980), now boasts some 20,000 dining establishments, whose fare ranges from increasingly refined cooking from all corners of China to haute cuisine from world-renowned chefs like New York City's Daniel Boulud, who has been in the capital to supervise the soft opening of his first restaurant outside the U.S. Recently, Boulud and I toured one of the city's bustling wet markets, then dined on our purchases at the new eatery, in a building off Tiananmen Square that housed the American embassy until the communist revolution in 1949. "Beijing has been slow in catching up, but now it is going through a renaissance," says Boulud.

If there is any one group that is the driving force behind the metamorphosis of Beijing, it is outsiders like Kuo. Be they born somewhere else in China or half a world away, a flood of migrants has peacefully occupied the capital in recent years, drawn to Beijing to seek fame and fortune or simply out of a burning desire to watch history unfold. The city I first visited—where the lights were out by 9 p.m. and creativity was a dirty word—is gone.

There is, of course, one area where little has changed: politics. Despite allowing Beijingers (and indeed all Chinese) vastly more freedom in their personal lives, the Communist Party still suppresses any public discussion of the legitimacy of its rule or talk of alternatives to the current authoritarian system of government. And there's no doubt that the same party cadres that allowed Beijing's cultural flowering to happen still have the ability to smother the creative explosion if it gets out of hand.

That reality has been vividly illustrated in recent months as the authorities made final preparations for the Games. Instead of ushering in the new openness the Olympics were supposed to foster, the government has clamped down on almost every aspect of life in the name of security. Thousands of foreigners living in China have been unable to renew their visas; many would-be tourists have been equally unlucky, leaving hotels that had expected to be bursting at the seams with occupancy rates under 50%. Organizers have been told unofficially that all outdoor gatherings in the months before the Games are banned. Clubs that had operated with impunity are suddenly having trouble with their licenses. Human-rights activists, public-

#### CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT

*Club D-22, featuring well-known local bands like Carsick Cars, is part of the thriving music scene*

*Youku.com founder Victor*

*Koo moved his company to the Zhongguancun neighborhood, China's Silicon Valley*

*New to the skyline: the headquarters of CCTV, the state-run TV company*

*Top model Li Yan works in Beijing. Chefs like Daniel Boulud bring new culinary energy*

*Chinese-American rock star cum digital guru Kaiser Kuo has adopted the capital as his home*



**The bird's nest** Even on a rainy day, Beijing's National Stadium draws visitors waiting for the Olympics

numerous universities and colleges are located, including China's two top academies, Peking and Tsinghua universities. When I first visited Peking University, the area surrounding the campus consisted of grimy single- or double-story brick buildings and open fields in what was then the outskirts of the city. Now it is a bustling commercial hub of shopping malls and glass-and-steel office buildings filled with China's leading media and technology companies—giants like Microsoft and Google and hundreds of tiny start-ups. Victor Koo, a thirty-something Internet pioneer, moved the headquarters of his company, Youku, China's most popular YouTube equivalent, to the area in April. "You have to be here," Koo says. "From a recruiting standpoint alone, this is where everyone is."

Maybe I'm a little too old to appreciate a heaving mosh pit screaming for an encore, but there's no doubt they're nurturing their own kind of dream down the street at D-22, Beijing's bleeding-edge rock club. Its fans say the unassuming club, right between Tsinghua and Peking universities, houses one of the most exciting music scenes in the world, a hothouse for new talent that rivals London's or New York City's. From the crimson walls of the second-story balcony hang 13 portraits that have become the club's hall of fame—local bands like P.K. 14, Joyside, Hedgehog and Carsick Cars. D-22's sophistication and huge variety—one night it featured a performance of classical Chinese opera between sets—trigger memories of the

stultifying Beijing of the old days. Back in the early 1990s, I was proudly escorted to the happening place at the time: a poky bar in the diplomatic neighborhood, featuring plastic stools and rickety tables. My memory of the entertainment is hazy, but I think it involved someone crooning syrupy ballads while accompanying himself on an acoustic guitar. On a typical Saturday night at D-22, by contrast, the jam-packed crowd sways and screams, with drunken German exchange students moshing alongside long-haired Chinese musicians checking out the competition. A young Chinese woman in tight denim shorts dives from the stage onto the crowd and is passed hand to hand around the room before being unceremoniously dumped onto the floor. Carsick Cars launches into the song *Zhongnanhai*—the name of both the central government compound and a popular cigarette brand. In what could pass for political commentary—or possibly following some critical impulse obscure even to themselves—people in the crowd shower the band with loose cigarettes.

The godfather of this scene is Michael Pettis, 50, a former Wall Street bond trader who is now an economics professor at Peking U. A longtime music fan, he began to investigate the Beijing rock scene when he moved here in 2002. He wasn't impressed. "Beijing at the time was a provincial city. It was not that interesting," Pettis says. "Bands could only get an audience to the extent that they copied New York or London." Pettis, who ran a club in New York City in the early 1980s, decided to open his own place. "I figured, if we do it, after four or five years we're going to get an audience, and there will be an explosion in Beijing," he says. "We were shocked. Two years later, I would say that Beijing is one of the top five or 10 cities in the world for music."

To be sure, some old habits linger. On July 4, Pettis was told that though his club had previously not needed a license, he now had to apply for one and could not stage any shows until he received it. He hopes and expects that such stringency is temporary and that when the Olympics have come and gone, things will return to normal. "I can't wait until they're done," he says with a sigh.

That's a common refrain. Beijing may have been put in a straitjacket for the Games. But it's come too far too fast to be closed down for good. The day after the closing ceremony of the Olympics, watch out for cigarettes and girls in denim shorts flying through the air.—WITH REPORTING BY AUSTIN RAMZY/BEIJING

interest lawyers and other dissenting voices have been jailed or harassed. Police even detained and interrogated members of the Hash House Harriers, a beery running club, suspicious that the flour they used to mark their runs might be part of a terrorist attack.

Such excesses by the authorities will almost certainly diminish once the Games are over. And in any case, it's increasingly obvious that as the capital's creative sectors bloom, so does the ability of those working in them to circumvent or ignore the rules. That has helped shape a second city hidden under the bland façade of broad boulevards and marbled ministries, argues Hu Xudong, a noted poet, columnist and professor of literature at Peking University. "Underneath the official Beijing we have another Beijing that's more like Latin America than China," he says. The city's other art scenes are supercharged as well. "Ninety percent of China's film directors live here, and so do most of our writers." Today, Hu concludes, Beijing is a place of real magic."

Perhaps the best place to experience Beijing's special energy is Zhongguancun, a western region of the city where

**'It is a horrible place to live, but I wouldn't be anywhere else on the planet. You get addicted to the excitement, speed and change.'**

—KAISER KUO, A CHINESE-AMERICAN TRANSPLANT TO BEIJING



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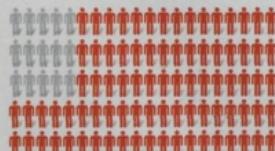
# Dents in The Dream

A TIME/Rockefeller Foundation poll finds growing support for a more active government

YOU WOULD EXPECT AMERICANS, IN A PERIOD OF falling home prices, a wobbly stock market and an ongoing war, to be less than satisfied with the direction of the country. It's natural. But Americans are not simply dissatisfied. They are very unhappy. O.K., deeply, pessimistically unhappy. Un-American Dreamy unhappy. In an exclusive TIME/Rockefeller Foundation poll, 85% of respondents said the country is on the wrong track.

It's an unprecedented downer in an optimistic nation, and depending on whom you talk to, the numbers simply get worse. Among blacks and Latinos, the dissatisfaction levels are 96% and 88%, respectively. And fewer than half of 18-to-29-year-olds believe that the country's best days are ahead.

Is the American Dream dying? Of course not. A majority of Americans still believe that their kids will live better than they did. (Their kids aren't so sure.) But most also believe that the social contract—the benefits that corporations and government once guaranteed—is in need of repair. Most intriguing, a majority believe in the power of Big Government to solve the big problems of our time. It is a shocking shift, a counterreformation of sorts in a Republican-led era that emphasizes deregulation and self-reliance. Do Americans really want more government? The answer to that question may be provided by the November election. But history has shown that when the going gets tough, even the tough expect their Uncle Sam to get going. ■



**85%**  
of Americans think  
the U.S. economy  
is seriously off track



**Americans are concerned**  
**47% fear for their financial**

10% 20%

**22%** of  
Americans are  
very worried  
about being able  
to pay their rent  
or mortgage



**... and their economic**  
**75% think the next genera**

10% 20%

**24%** of respondents  
don't think their  
children will have  
a better life than  
they do



**... and want more gove**  
**78% think the social contra**

10% 20%

**44%** think the  
government should be  
primarily responsible  
for expanding  
programs to help  
Americans feel more  
economically secure



**Is the U.S.  
in decline?**

How much economic security  
do Americans have today  
compared with 10 years ago?

**40%**  
A lot less

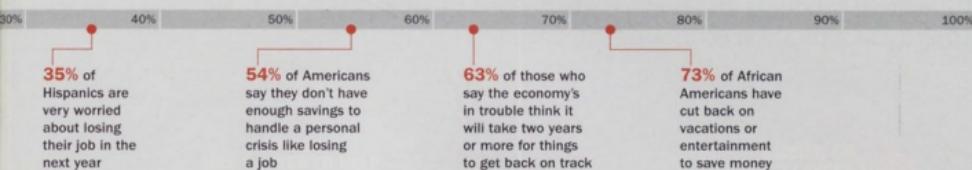
**32%**  
Somewhat less

**16%**  
Same

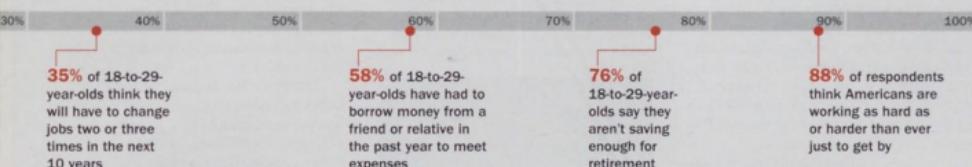
**7%** Somewhat more  
**4%** A lot more

This TIME/Rockefeller Foundation poll was conducted June 19-20 by SRIR Public Affairs, with analysis by Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, among a random sample of 2,008 adult Americans, including oversamples of young African Americans and Hispanics. The margin of error for the entire sample is ±1 percentage points. The margin of error is higher for subgroups.

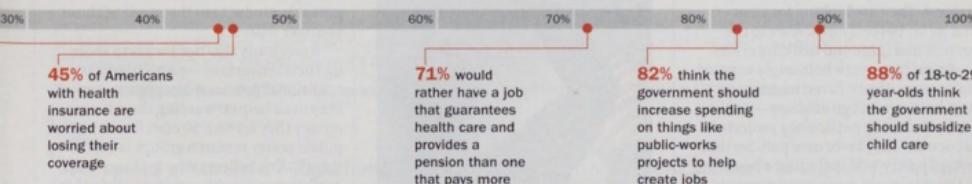
# ned about money ... situation, up from 24% last year



# future ... ion will have more economic struggles



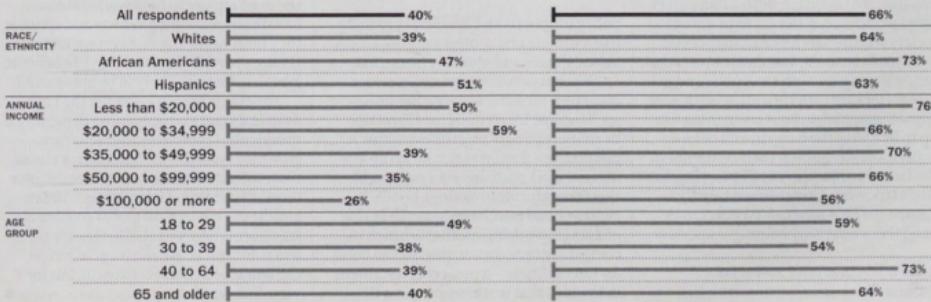
# ernment help ct of the 20th century has been broken



Percentage who agree that ...

... the U.S. was a better place to live in the 1990s and will continue to decline

... even if you work hard and play by the rules, you can no longer expect to afford health care, college and a secure retirement



# The New Social Contract

Innovative products and policies are needed to give Americans a modern economic safety net

DURING AND AFTER THE GREAT DEPRESSION, workers, employers and the government entered into an implied social contract that afforded Americans a basic level of economic security if they worked hard and took responsibility for their families. In a new TIME/Rockefeller Foundation survey, however, Americans give voice to a very different reality: the 20th century's social contract is unraveling, they say, and almost all of us—8 in 10, in fact—yearn for a new bargain to help meet 21st century challenges.

It may well be that the U.S. is a nation off track and worried, but it's also a nation seeking solutions—new rules and new tools—and calling on its leaders for change. Americans want new public policies and very different financial products to help them when the hurt is greatest. They are looking for answers that go far beyond quick fixes to the current mortgage and banking crises.

Americans overwhelmingly support major government investments to create jobs that won't go offshore—public works and energy-efficiency projects in particular. They favor new policies that reward hard work, including a boost in the minimum wage, employer-paid family leave and more available, affordable child care. They want new ways to save and invest.

There is no one-size-fits-all solution to America's economic challenges. In a dynamic marketplace, with a more diversified workforce, different segments of society require services and support tailored to their needs. The good news is that innovators from both the public and private sectors are experimenting with new approaches, pushing government to live up to its end of the bargain and helping Americans strengthen their resilience in the face of economic risk. The Rockefeller Foundation has launched a \$70 million Campaign for American Workers to expand these efforts by helping shape new

## 80% believe they are responsible for their own financial security

**77%** favor more programs to help people afford health insurance

**68%** favor more paid maternity and family leave from employers



policy proposals and financial products that promote and protect savings, access to health care and secure retirements.

When it comes to savings, workers want new resources to weather unforeseen income interruptions, especially in an increasingly volatile economy. A nonprofit in Boston is encouraging low-income workers to invest a portion of their tax refunds in savings bonds. Its average bond purchaser's profile is that of a single working mother with an income under \$21,000, acquiring the bond for her children—a powerful testament to the idea that working people will

make responsible choices if given the right opportunities. On the health-care front, a New York-based organization is developing ways for independent workers to share risk by buying into group plans, bringing affordable coverage into reach for more contractors and freelancers, who now make up one-third of the U.S. workforce.

The TIME/Rockefeller Foundation survey showed that the U.S.'s youngest workers are, stunningly, its most pessimistic about the nation's economic future, and half of them are uninsured. Equipping them with tools to bolster their economic security takes on special urgency. In response, an innovative start-up, working with labor organizations, targets health-care counseling, savings, credit and other low-cost, portable products to the needs of these younger workers.

Americans also need ways to shore up their retirement—particularly as traditional pensions disappear—and they need help stewarding the retirement money they receive. So one consortium of public-policy research groups is exploring ways to link retirees who get lump-sum 401(k) payouts with services to help them manage their money for the long term.

In a precarious economy, finding the right solutions depends, in part, on understanding our workforce's diversity. One global consulting group is segmenting the marketplace to help workers of various stripes pinpoint products and services they most need. The same group is identifying opportunities to improve benefits at jobs that are least likely to be outsourced.

In September 1932, against the backdrop of a great and deepening depression, presidential candidate and New York governor Franklin D. Roosevelt declared that Americans must "recognize the new terms of the old social contract." Today, amidst the currents of global economic transformation, our challenges are no less substantial. We must again renew the tenets of a timeless bargain, but for a very different future.

DID YOU KNOW THERE ARE 2 FORMS OF AMBIEN® (ZOLPIDEM TARTRATE)?  
AND THERE IS AN IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE.

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AMBIEN  
HAS 1 LAYER TO HELP  
YOU FALL ASLEEP



AMBIEN CR  
HAS 2 LAYERS TO  
HELP YOU FALL ASLEEP  
AND STAY ASLEEP\*

**AMBIEN CR** is the only form of Ambien that is FDA approved to help you fall asleep and stay asleep:



The first layer dissolves quickly to help you fall asleep fast, while the second dissolves slowly to help you stay asleep.\* So you wake up less frequently and fall back to sleep faster.

For people who have trouble falling asleep and/or staying asleep, only AMBIEN CR has two layers that address both problems: The first layer dissolves quickly to help you fall asleep fast, while the second dissolves slowly to help you stay asleep, so you can wake up ready for your day.\*\* AMBIEN CR can be taken for as long as your healthcare provider recommends. Ask your prescriber if AMBIEN CR is right for you.

**There is no generic form of AMBIEN CR, so ask your prescriber or pharmacist for AMBIEN CR by name.**

\* Proven effective for up to 7 hours in clinical studies.

\*\* Individual results may vary.

For special offers and a 7-Night free trial of **AMBIEN CR** visit: [ambienCR.com/deals](http://ambienCR.com/deals) or call 1.877.827.1767.

AMBIEN CR is indicated to help you fall asleep and/or stay asleep.

#### IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

AMBIEN CR is a treatment option you and your doctor can consider along with lifestyle changes and can be taken for as long as your doctor recommends. Until you know how AMBIEN CR will affect you, you shouldn't drive or operate machinery. Be sure you're able to devote 7 to 8 hours to sleep before being active again. Sleepwalking, and eating or driving while not fully awake, with amnesia for the event have been reported. If you experience any of these behaviors contact your provider immediately. In rare cases sleep aids may cause allergic reactions such as swelling of your tongue or throat or shortness of breath. If you have an allergic reaction while using AMBIEN CR, contact your doctor immediately. Side effects may include next-day drowsiness, dizziness and headache. It's non-narcotic; however, like most sleep medicines

it has some risk of dependency. Don't take it with alcohol.

AMBIEN is indicated for short-term treatment to help you fall asleep.

#### IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

When you first start taking AMBIEN, use caution in the morning when engaging in activities requiring complete alertness until you know how you will react to this medication. In most instances, memory problems can be avoided if you take AMBIEN only when you are able to get a full night's sleep (7 to 8 hours) before you need to be active again. As with any sleep medication, do not use alcohol while you are taking AMBIEN.

Sleepwalking, and eating or driving while not fully awake, with amnesia for the event, have been reported. If you experience any of these behaviors contact your provider immediately. In rare cases, sleep medicines may cause allergic reactions such as swelling of your tongue or throat, shortness of breath or more severe

results. If you have an allergic reaction while using AMBIEN, contact your doctor immediately. Prescription sleep aids are often taken for 7 to 10 days - or longer as advised by your provider. Like most sleep medicines, it has some risk of dependency. There is a low occurrence of side effects associated with the short-term use of AMBIEN. The most commonly observed side effects in controlled clinical trials were drowsiness (2%), dizziness (1%), and diarrhea (1%).

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch) or 1-800-FDA-1088

**AMBIEN CR®**  
ZOLPIDEM TARTRATE EXTENDED RELEASE TABLETS  
10MG AND 12.5MG EXTENDED RELEASE TABLETS

A GOOD NIGHT'S SLEEP FROM START TO FINISH™

## MEDICATION GUIDE

### AMBIEN CR® (am'bē-an see ahr) C-IV (zolpidem tartrate extended-release tablets)

Read the Medication Guide that comes with AMBIEN CR before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking to your doctor about your medical condition or treatment.

#### What is the most important information I should know about AMBIEN CR?

**After taking AMBIEN CR, you may get up out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing. The next morning, you may not remember that you did anything during the night.** You have a higher chance for doing these activities if you drink alcohol or take other medicines that make you sleepy with AMBIEN CR. Reported activities include:

- driving a car ("sleep-driving")
- making and eating food
- talking on the phone
- having sex
- sleep-walking

**Call your doctor right away if you find out that you have done any of the above activities after taking AMBIEN CR.**

#### Important:

##### 1. Take AMBIEN CR exactly as prescribed

- Do not take more AMBIEN CR than prescribed.
- Take AMBIEN CR right before you get in bed, not sooner.

##### 2. Do not take AMBIEN CR if you:

- drink alcohol
- take other medicines that can make you sleepy. Talk to your doctor about all of your medicines. Your doctor will tell you if you can take AMBIEN CR with your other medicines.
- cannot get a full night's sleep

#### What is AMBIEN CR?

AMBIEN CR is a sedative-hypnotic (sleep) medicine. AMBIEN CR is used in adults for the treatment of a sleep problem called insomnia. Symptoms of insomnia include:

- trouble falling asleep
- waking up often during the night

AMBIEN CR is not for children.

AMBIEN CR is a federally controlled substance (C-IV) because it can be abused or lead to dependence. Keep AMBIEN CR in a safe place to prevent misuse and abuse. Selling or giving away AMBIEN CR may harm others, and is against the law. Tell your doctor if you have ever abused or have been dependent on alcohol, prescription medicines or street drugs.

#### Who should not take AMBIEN CR?

Do not take AMBIEN CR if you are allergic to anything in it. See the end of this Medication Guide for a complete list of ingredients in AMBIEN CR.

#### AMBIEN CR may not be right for you. Before starting AMBIEN CR, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have a history of depression, mental illness, or suicidal thoughts
- have a history of drug or alcohol abuse or addiction
- have kidney or liver disease
- have a lung disease or breathing problems
- are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding

Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Medicines can interact with each other, sometimes causing serious side effects. **Do not take AMBIEN CR with other medicines that can make you sleepy.**

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

#### How should I take AMBIEN CR?

- Take AMBIEN CR exactly as prescribed. Do not take more AMBIEN CR than prescribed for you.

##### Take AMBIEN CR right before you get into bed.

- Do not take AMBIEN CR unless you are able to stay in bed a full night (7-8 hours) before you must be active again.

- Swallow AMBIEN CR Tablets whole. Do not chew or break the tablets. Tell your doctor if you cannot swallow tablets whole.

- For faster sleep onset, AMBIEN CR should NOT be taken with or immediately after a meal.
- Call your doctor if your insomnia worsens or is not better within 7 to 10 days. This may mean that there is another condition causing your sleep problems.
- If you take too much AMBIEN CR or overdose, call your doctor or poison control center right away, or get emergency treatment.

#### What are the possible side effects of AMBIEN CR?

##### Serious side effects of AMBIEN CR include:

- **getting out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing.** (See "What is the most important information I should know about AMBIEN CR?")
- **abnormal thoughts and behavior.** Symptoms include more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal, confusion, agitation, hallucinations, worsening of depression, and suicidal thoughts or actions.
- **memory loss**
- **anxiety**
- **severe allergic reactions.** Symptoms include swelling of the tongue or throat, trouble breathing, and nausea and vomiting. Get emergency medical help if you get these symptoms after taking AMBIEN CR.

**Call your doctor right away if you have any of the above side effects or any other side effects that worry you while using AMBIEN CR.**

##### The most common side effects of AMBIEN CR are:

- headache
- sleepiness
- dizziness
- You may still feel drowsy the next day after taking AMBIEN CR. **Do not drive or do other dangerous activities after taking AMBIEN CR until you feel fully awake.**

**After you stop taking a sleep medicine,** you may have symptoms for 1 to 2 days such as: trouble sleeping, nausea, flushing, lightheadedness, uncontrolled crying, vomiting, stomach cramps, panic attack, nervousness, and stomach area pain.

These are not all the side effects of AMBIEN CR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

#### How should I store AMBIEN CR?

- Store AMBIEN CR at room temperature, 59° to 77°F (15° to 25°C).
- **Keep AMBIEN CR and all medicines out of reach of children.**

#### General Information about AMBIEN CR

- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide.
- Do not use AMBIEN CR for a condition for which it was not prescribed.
- Do not share AMBIEN CR with other people, even if you think they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them and it is against the law.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about AMBIEN CR. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about AMBIEN CR that is written for healthcare professionals. For more information about AMBIEN CR, call 1-800-633-1610 or visit [www.ambiencr.com](http://www.ambiencr.com).

#### What are the ingredients in AMBIEN CR?

##### Active Ingredient: Zolpidem tartrate

**Inactive Ingredients:** The 6.25 mg tablets contain: colloidal silicon dioxide, hypromellose, lactose monohydrate, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, polyethylene glycol, potassium bitartrate, red ferric oxide, sodium starch glycolate, and titanium dioxide. The 12.5 mg tablets contain: colloidal silicon dioxide, FD&C Blue #2, hypromellose, lactose monohydrate, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, polyethylene glycol, potassium bitartrate, sodium starch glycolate, titanium dioxide, and yellow ferric oxide.

##### Rx Only

This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

sanofi-aventis U.S. LLC  
Bridgewater, NJ 08807

January 2008a

AMBCR-JAN08a-M-A

**MEDICATION GUIDE**  
**AMBIEN® (am'bē-an) Tablets C-IV**  
(*zolpidem tartrate*)

Read the Medication Guide that comes with AMBIEN before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking to your doctor about your medical condition or treatment.

**What is the most important information I should know about AMBIEN?**

After taking AMBIEN, you may get up out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing. The next morning, you may not remember that you did anything during the night. You have a higher chance for doing these activities if you drink alcohol or take other medicines that make you sleepy with AMBIEN. Reported activities include:

- driving a car ("sleep-driving")
- making and eating food
- talking on the phone
- having sex
- sleep-walking

**Call your doctor right away if you find out that you have done any of the above activities after taking AMBIEN.**

**Important:**

**1. Take AMBIEN exactly as prescribed**

- Do not take more AMBIEN than prescribed.
- Take AMBIEN right before you get in bed, not sooner.

**2. Do not take AMBIEN if you:**

- drink alcohol
- take other medicines that can make you sleepy. Talk to your doctor about all of your medicines. Your doctor will tell you if you can take AMBIEN with your other medicines.
- cannot get a full night's sleep

**What is AMBIEN?**

AMBIEN is a sedative-hypnotic (sleep) medicine. AMBIEN is used in adults for the short-term treatment of a sleep problem called insomnia. Symptoms of insomnia include:

- trouble falling asleep

AMBIEN is not for children.

AMBIEN is a federally controlled substance (C-IV) because it can be abused or lead to dependence. Keep AMBIEN in a safe place to prevent misuse and abuse. Selling or giving away AMBIEN may harm others, and is against the law. Tell your doctor if you have ever abused or have been dependent on alcohol, prescription medicines or street drugs.

**Who should not take AMBIEN?**

Do not take AMBIEN if you are allergic to anything in it.

See the end of this Medication Guide for a complete list of ingredients in AMBIEN.

**AMBIEN may not be right for you. Before starting AMBIEN, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:**

- have a history of depression, mental illness, or suicidal thoughts
- have a history of drug or alcohol abuse or addiction
- have kidney or liver disease
- have a lung disease or breathing problems
- are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding

Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Medicines can interact with each other, sometimes causing serious side effects. **Do not take AMBIEN with other medicines that can make you sleepy.**

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

**How should I take AMBIEN?**

- Take AMBIEN exactly as prescribed. Do not take more AMBIEN than prescribed for you.
- **Take AMBIEN right before you get into bed.**

- **Do not take AMBIEN unless you are able to stay in bed a full night (7-8 hours) before you must be active again.**
- For faster sleep onset, AMBIEN should NOT be taken with or immediately after a meal.
- Call your doctor if your insomnia worsens or is not better within 7 to 10 days. This may mean that there is another condition causing your sleep problem.
- If you take too much AMBIEN or overdose, call your doctor or poison control center right away, or get emergency treatment.

**What are the possible side effects of AMBIEN?**

Serious side effects of AMBIEN include:

- **getting out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing.** (See "What is the most important information I should know about AMBIEN?")
- **abnormal thoughts and behavior.** Symptoms include more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal, confusion, agitation, hallucinations, worsening of depression, and suicidal thoughts or actions.

- **memory loss**

- **anxiety**

- **severe allergic reactions.** Symptoms include swelling of the tongue or throat, trouble breathing, and nausea and vomiting. Get emergency medical help if you get these symptoms after taking AMBIEN.

**Call your doctor right away if you have any of the above side effects or any other side effects that worry you while using AMBIEN.**

**The most common side effects of AMBIEN are:**

- drowsiness

- dizziness

- diarrhea

- "drugged feelings"

- You may still feel drowsy the next day after taking AMBIEN. **Do not drive or do other dangerous activities after taking AMBIEN until you feel fully awake.**

After you stop taking a sleep medicine, you may have symptoms for 1 to 2 days such as: trouble sleeping, nausea, flushing, lightheadedness, uncontrolled crying, vomiting, stomach cramps, panic attack, nervousness, and stomach area pain.

These are not all the side effects of AMBIEN. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

**How should I store AMBIEN?**

- Store AMBIEN at room temperature, 68° to 77°F (20° to 25°C).
- **Keep AMBIEN and all medicines out of reach of children.**

**General Information about AMBIEN**

- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide.
- Do not use AMBIEN for a condition for which it was not prescribed.
- Do not share AMBIEN with other people, even if you think they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them and it is against the law.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about AMBIEN. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about AMBIEN that is written for healthcare professionals. For more information about AMBIEN, call 1-800-633-1610.

**What are the ingredients in AMBIEN?**

**Active Ingredient:** Zolpidem tartrate

**Inactive Ingredients:** hydroxypropyl methylcellulose, lactose, magnesium stearate, micro-crystalline cellulose, polyethylene glycol, sodium starch glycolate, and titanium dioxide. In addition, the 5 mg tablet contains FD&C Red No. 40, iron oxide colorant, and polysorbate 80.

**Rx Only**

This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

sanofi-aventis U.S. LLC  
Bridgewater, NJ 08807

June 2008

version 3 (Rev. 06/08)

AMB-JUNE08-M-Aa



# The Pursuit of Purity

Striking back against a *Girls Gone Wild* culture, many fathers and daughters are choosing a much different path. Inside the world of purity balls

BY NANCY GIBBS/COLORADO SPRINGS



#### Does father know best?

At the ball, girls as young as 4 join Dad for dinner, dancing and testimony about living a "pure life." Purity balls have been held across the country

**T**HERE ARE SOME MOTHERS AND SOME UNCLES AMONG the 150 people in the ballroom of the Broadmoor hotel, but the night belongs to fathers and daughters. The girls generally range in age from college down to the tiny 4-year-old dressed all in purple who has climbed up into her father's arms to be carried. Some are in their first high heels—you can tell by the way they walk, like uncertain baby giraffes. Randy Wilson, co-inventor of the Father-Daughter Purity Ball, offers a blessing: he calls on the men to be good and loving listeners, tender, gracious and truthful. And he prays that the girls might "step into the world with strength and passion, to lead this generation."

Kylie Miraldi has come from California to celebrate her 18th birthday tonight. She'll be going to San Jose State on a volleyball scholarship next year. Her father, who looks a little like Superman, is on the dance floor with one of her sisters; he turns out to be Dean Miraldi, a former offensive lineman with the Philadelphia Eagles. When Kylie was 13, her parents took her on a hike in Lake Tahoe, Calif. "We discussed what it means to be a teenager in today's world," she says. They gave her a charm for her bracelet—a lock in the shape of a heart. Her father has the key. "On my wedding day, he'll give it to my husband," she explains. "It's a symbol of my father giving up the covering of my heart, protecting me, since it means my husband is now the protector. He becomes like the shield to my heart, to love me as I'm supposed to be loved."

Kylie talks with an unblinking confidence about a promise that she says is spiritual, mental and physical. "It's something I'm very proud of. I plan to keep pure until marriage. It's a promise I made to myself—not pressure from my parents," she says. She speaks plainly about what she wants in her life, what she thinks she has the power to control and what she doesn't. "I'm very much at peace about this," she says, and looks out across the twirling room. "I don't feel like I need to seek a man. I will be found."

#### Family Ministry

RANDY AND HIS WIFE LISA WILSON BELIEVE IN CELEBRATING God's design and life's little growth spurts. But the origin of the purity-ball movement was not so much about their five daughters; it was about the fathers Randy saw who, he says, didn't know what their place was in the lives of their daughters. "The idea was to model what the relationship can be as a daughter grows from a child to an adult," Randy says. "You come in closer, become available to answer whatever questions she has."

So he and Lisa came up with a ceremony; they wrote a vow for fathers to recite, a promise "before God to cover my daughter as her authority and protection in the areas of purity," to practice fidelity, shun pornography and walk with honor through a "culture of chaos" and by so doing guide their daughters as well. That was in 1998, the year the President was charged with lying about his sex life, Viagra became the fastest-selling new drug in history, and movies, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, reflected "a surge in the worldwide relaxation of sexual taboos."

Word of the event spread fast: soon the camera crews came, and so did Tyra Banks and Dr. Phil. The Abstinence Clearinghouse estimates there were more than 4,000 purity events across the country last year, with programs aimed at boys now growing even faster. And inevitably the criticism arrived as well, dressed up in social science and scholarly glee at the semiotics of girls



## Purity Pictures

To see more of Marvi Lacar's photos, go to [time.com/purity](http://time.com/purity)

kneeling beneath raised swords to affirm their purity. The events have been called odd, creepy, oppressive of a girl's "sexual self-agency," as one *USA Today* columnist put it. Father-daughter bonding is great, the critics agree—but wouldn't a cooking class or a soccer game be emotionally healthier than a ceremony freighted with rings and roses and vows? Some academic skeptics make a practical objection: The majority of kids who make a virginity pledge, they argue, will still have sex before marriage but are less likely than other kids to use contraception, since that would involve planning ahead for something they have promised not to do. This puts them at risk for sexually transmitted diseases. To which defenders say: Teen pledgers typically do postpone having sex, have fewer partners, get pregnant less often and if they make it through high school as virgins, are twice as likely to graduate from college—so where's the downside?

The purity balls have thus become a proxy in the wider war over means and ends. It is being fought in Congress, where lawmakers debate whether to keep funding abstinence-only education in the face of studies showing it doesn't work; in the culture, as Lindsay and Britney and Miley march in single file off a cliff; at school-board meetings, where members argue over the signal sent by including condoms in the prom bag; at the dinner table, where parents try to transmit values to children, knowing full well that swarms of other messages are landing by text and Twitter. "The culture is everywhere," says Randy's daughter Khrys-tian, 20. "You can't get away from it." But maybe, the new Puritans suggest, there's a way to boost girls' immunity.

**Rules of Engagement**

IT WAS AN ELBOW IN THE RIBS FROM HIS wife that drove Ken Lane to his first purity ball with their daughter Hannah, now 11. Tonight is their fourth, and they are sitting in the gold-and-white Broadmoor ballroom, picking at the chicken Florentine and trying to explain what they're doing here. "My kids are on loan to me for a season; it's important how I use that time," Ken is saying as a string quartet plays softly. "There's a lot for us to talk through—the decisions she'll have to make are more complex. I want to be close enough to her that she can come talk to me. That's what my wife understood. I didn't understand the role dads can play to set her up for success."



In the face of the hook-up culture of casual sexual experimentation, he explains, with its potential physical and emotional risks, he wants to model an alternative. Even with older teenagers, many of these families don't believe in random dating but rather intentional dating, which typically begins with a young man's asking a father for permission to get to know his daughter. Lane was so stymied by how exactly that conversation would go that he even asked Randy Wilson if he could sit at a nearby table and listen in one day when Wilson met one of Khrys-tian's potential suitors at a local Starbucks. "We're trying to be realistic," Lane says. "I'm not ready to be like India—have arranged marriages. But there is some wisdom there, in that at least the parents are involved."

This, of course, is the kind of conversation that makes critics howl. What about a young woman's right to date whomever she pleases, make her own mistakes, learn from the experience, find out who she is and what matters to her? To which the Wilsons and their allies reply: If you still think this is just about sex, you are missing the whole point. The message, they say, is about integrity, being whole people, heart and soul and body. Wilson himself has said virginity pledges have a downside: "It heaps guilt upon them. If they fail, you've made it worse for them," he said. "Who is perfect in this world? One mistake doesn't mean it's all over." Everyone here has a story, and

very few are in black and white. One man is dancing with his younger daughter, wishing his older girl had come as well. She used to wear a purity ring, he says, until a boy she knew assaulted her; she took it off—felt too dirty. Her parents gave her a new one, a bigger one; it took many months and much therapy, her father goes on, before she was able to put a ring on again. "That was part of a healing process," he says, "with the message that you're valuable no matter what someone did to you."

**Symbols and Substance**

AFTER DINNER COMES THE BALLET performance, when seven tiny ballerinas in white tulle float in; then seven older dancers carry in a large, heavy wooden cross, which they drape in white, with a crown of thorns. Four of the five Wilson daughters are among the dancers, and they offer a special dance to their father, to the music of Natalie Grant:

*Your faith, your love  
And all that you believe  
Have come to be the strongest part of me  
And I will always be your baby ...*

Then Randy and his friend Kevin Moore stand in front of the cross, holding up two large swords, points crossed. Fathers and daughters process beneath the swords to kneel; the girls place a white rose at the base of the cross while the fathers

**Faith in action** After dinner, the men, left, read pledges to "be pure in my own life as a man, husband and father"; the girls look for friends in the crowd



## 'I'm not ready to be like India—have arranged marriages. But there is some wisdom there, in that at least the parents are involved.'

—KEN LANE, PURITY-BALL PARTICIPANT

offer a quiet blessing. Splayed on the floor all around them are half a dozen photographers looking for the right angle and a camera crew from the ABC, in a syncopation of private praise and clicking shutters.

So what, exactly, does all this ceremony achieve? Leave aside for a moment the critics who recoil at the symbols, the patriarchy, the very use of the term *purity*, with its shadow of stains and stigma. Whatever guests came looking for, they are likely to come away with something unexpected. The goal seems less about making judgments than about making memories.

Out on the terrace under an almost moon, the black swans have vanished into the lake. David Diefenderfer has slipped outside for a cigarette; he's a leathery South Dakotan in a big black cowboy hat, and he hands over his card. HAVE GUN, WILL TRAVEL: BREEDER SERVICE, it says, with a picture of a syringe. He's in the cattle-

reproduction business. He's also the father of nine children by seven women.

Three of his daughters are with him tonight, including 10-year-old Taylor. I asked what purity means to her. "I don't really know," she says, and she's shy about talking about all this. "But it means you make a promise to your dad to be a virgin until you are married and not have a lot of boyfriends."

That's what her oldest half sister Juliet was taught as well; she remembers hearing how her mother got pregnant the very first time she had sex. Juliet is now 37 and has come from Reno, Nev., where she works for Microsoft Licensing. She has watched the evening unfold with some skepticism. "I think I'm finding I'm more of a feminist than I thought," she says with a sly smile. "I had a hard time there hearing about 'rescuing' our girls. I was brought up to be a strong woman. Why would I need rescuing?" It's the boys who she thinks need help these days. "It's great for girls to have a Cinderella night with Dad, but families still need a good strong father role model," she says. The role-model question is tender for her. "I didn't have that—no offense, Dad," she says, and then she looks hard at him. "But my siblings do. He really stepped up to the plate. He's a great dad now. I say that with a tinge of jealousy. I'm not afraid to admit it."

Her father hopes his kids will learn from his mistakes. "I never planned to have nine children by seven women," he says. "I be-

lieve it's necessary to instill a set of values, give them tools to make good decisions." But he won't be there to help. Juliet explains when he goes back inside the ballroom to catch up to the younger girls: "We're sort of here on borrowed time," she says. David Diefenderfer has Stage 4 inoperable lung cancer; they figure tonight is something of a gift. "He won't be at their wedding," Juliet says, looking into the glowing room, "but they can look back and remember the dance they had tonight."

### A Delicate Dance

IF YOU LISTEN LONG ENOUGH, YOU WONDER whether there is really such a profound disagreement about what parents want for their children. Culture war by its nature pours salt in wounds, finds division where there could be common purpose. *Purity* is certainly a loaded word—but is there anyone who thinks it's a good idea for 12-year-olds to have sex? Or a bad idea for fathers to be engaged in the lives of their daughters and promise to practice what they preach? Parents won't necessarily say this out loud, but isn't it better to set the bar high and miss than not even try?

Maybe mixed messages aren't just inevitable; they're valuable. On the one hand, for all the conservative outcry, there is no evidence that giving kids complete and accurate information about sex and contraception encourages promiscuity. On the other, a purity pledge basically says sex is serious. That it's not to be entered into recklessly. To deny kids information, whether about contraception or chastity, is irresponsible; to mock or dismiss as unrealistic the goal of personal responsibility in all its forms may suit the culture, but it gives kids too little power, too little control over their decisions, as though they're incapable of making good ones. The research suggests they may be more capable of high standards than parents are. "It's always tempting as a parent to say, Do as I say, not as I do," says a father who's here for the first time. "But it's more valuable to make the commitment yourself. Children can spot hypocrisy very quickly."

The dancing goes on past midnight, when Randy Wilson finally has to shoos people out. Many of the girls are still light-footed, merry; it's their dads who are fading, and you wonder who will be leaning on whom as they head out into the cool mountain night. —WITH REPORTING BY ALEXANDRA SILVER AND CAROLYN SAYRE / NEW YORK

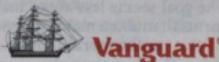
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# Life

□ LIBATIONS □ HEALTH □ GEEK CHIC □ USER'S GUIDE

The can is black with white and red text. It features a stylized 'Malfett' logo in the center. Below the logo, it says 'PREMIUM MALT BEVERAGE'. At the bottom, it lists 'WITH NATURAL FLAVORS, CAFFEINE, GINSENG, TAURINE, AND FD&C YELLOW #5 & 6'. The top of the can shows '9.9% ALC/VOL'. Red arrows point from several text boxes to specific parts of the can.

**FLAVOR**  
The citrusy taste reminded one online reviewer of orange Kool-Aid

**MARKETING**  
This hip-looking "malternative" is sold in convenience stores

**ENERGY**  
The drink promises a triple boost via caffeine, taurine and ginseng

**REVIT WITH NA CAFFEINE, AND FD**

**ALCOHOL**  
It has nearly twice the booze of the same amount of Budweiser

**LIBATIONS**  
**This Ain't No Wine Cooler.**  
Will caffeinated alcohol be the next teen-drinking fad?

BY JOHN CLOUD

LET'S BEGIN BY STIPULATING THAT IRISH coffee is brilliant: no sensible person can argue with caffeine and whiskey topped with cream and served in a warm mug. Irish coffee has been sold in bars since the 1950s, if not earlier, so it's surprising that it took so long for the alcohol industry to come up with a canned version of caffeinated booze called alcoholic energy drinks. If you've never heard of such things, your kid probably has. Sold in tall, narrow cans, they're designed to look like malt beverages but contain 9.9 percent alcohol by volume. The cans are covered in lightning bolts and have names like Malfett, Rockstar, and Nitro. They're sold in convenience stores and targeted at teenagers. And they're not just for kids: I recently saw a 30-something woman sipping one at a bar in New York City. "I'm not a drinker," she said. "I just like the taste." —John Cloud

row cans, they carry teen-friendly names such as Sparks, four maXed and Joose. As with other "flavored malt beverages" (the conspicuously boring industry name for fizzy drinks like Mike's Hard Lemonade), alcoholic energy drinks taste like cheap soda—cloyingly sweet and bubbly, with only the mildest hint of booze, all the better for callow teen palates. But alcoholic energy drinks are much more dangerous than regular alcops like Mike's. First of all, they contain an assortment of stimulants—mainly caffeine but also ingredients like guarana and taurine that can speed the central nervous system and mask alcohol's effects. And they have more booze than othersingle-serving beverages. Budweiser and Mike's are both about 5% alcohol; by comparison, Sparks Plus is 7%, and four maXed and Joose are about 10%.

The single-serving combination of a depressant (alcohol) and various stimulants carries a certain nightclub logic: Anheuser-Busch used to advertise its caffeinated beer, Bud Extra, with lines such as YOU CAN SLEEP WHEN YOU'RE 30 AND WE SUGGEST 18-HOUR MASCARA. But public-health and law-enforcement officials—who have mounted an aggressive campaign against alcoholic energy drinks—worry that drinkers will assume they'll be wired enough to drive home after a long night of consuming these beverages. (More on the science later, but caffeine makes you feel only "wide-awake drunk," as researchers

have put it, not actually less impaired.) The alcoholism-prevention community had been startled by the speed with which the caffeinated cocktail of Red Bull and vodka became a bar staple across the U.S. and Europe in the early 2000s, and many activists were determined to prevent alcoholic energy drinks from achieving a similar cultural foothold. "At least with Red Bull and vodka, you have two component parts that are mixed at a bar," says Judy Walsh-Jackson of the California Coalition on Alcopops and Youth. "These alcop energy drinks are sold at convenience stores, places where young kids are shopping, right next to regular energy drinks."

Last month the attorneys general in 11 states won an agreement from Anheuser-Busch to discontinue all its alcoholic energy drinks and pay \$200,000 to the states. Among other concerns, the attorneys general had alleged that the company was marketing the drinks to minors. Anheuser-Busch denied it broke any laws. As investigations continue into other makers of alcoholic energy drinks, Miller Brewing issued a statement that it is standing by Sparks, the No. 1 alcoholic energy drink; in June, Miller's parent company reported that the Sparks brand had "delivered strong full-year, double-digit growth." Likewise, United Brands said it has no plans to change the marketing or policies regarding Joose.

Marketing concerns aside, alcoholic energy drinks raise scientific questions:

## Buzzed and Wired. Alcoholic energy drinks tend to come in bigger serving sizes than regular beer and pack more of a punch than caffeinated cocktails



### IRISH COFFEE

**CAFFEINE:** 35 to 75 mg  
(varies by coffee)  
**ALCOHOL:** 0.6 oz.,  
assuming one shot  
**THE CONSUMER:** Still  
uses a typewriter

### JACK AND COKE

**CAFFEINE:** 13 mg  
**ALCOHOL:** 0.6 oz.  
**THE CONSUMER:** Likes to go  
deer-hunting

### VODKA AND RED BULL

**CAFFEINE:** 80 mg  
**ALCOHOL:** 0.6 oz.  
**THE CONSUMER:** Couldn't find ecstasy  
for sale at the club



### SPARKS PLUS

**CAFFEINE:** 87 mg  
**ALCOHOL:** 1.12 oz.  
per 16-oz. can  
**THE CONSUMER:** Can't wait for the  
prom

Does caffeine counteract the effects of alcohol? Or does it make drinking even more dangerous? Researchers have consistently found that caffeine won't keep you from getting drunk. In fact, from a psychological perspective, drinking caffeine with your alcohol is much riskier than drinking alcohol alone. One of the fascinating things about how humans process alcohol is that we have at least some capacity to overcome its effects by sheer force of will. Mark Fillmore, a psychologist at the University of

## Participants who had consumed caffeine with their alcohol thought they were less impaired than they really were

Kentucky, has found that study volunteers who are warned that an alcoholic drink will highly impair their performance on a psychomotor test actually do better on the test than people who are given the same drink but no information about impairment. In other words, at least in a lab setting, those who are led to believe they're about to get truly blotto end up not letting themselves get so blotto. They don't perform as well as sober people, but they perform a lot better than the average drinker.

Fillmore's research implies that mixing stimulants in alcoholic beverages sends a dangerous message: Don't worry, the stimulants will protect you. In a 2002 *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* paper, Fillmore and his colleagues demonstrated this point: people who expected caffeine in their booze to do the compensating work for them scored significantly worse on psychomotor tests than did a group told that caffeine would have no effect. The latter group controlled themselves more.

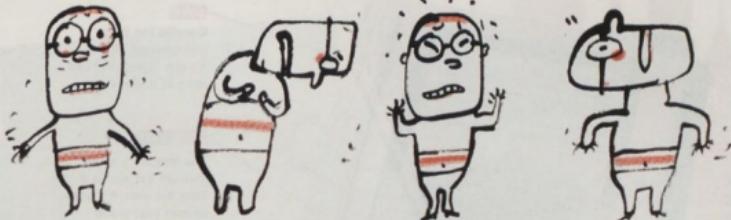
Alcohol functions in your body pretty much the same whether you mix it with caffeine or not. The problem is, you will feel better if caffeine is present. A 2006 study published in the journal *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research* found that people who consumed energy drinks with alcohol had significantly less dry mouth and headache than those who drank only alcohol. They also perceived their motor coordination to be better—even though it wasn't.

Alcoholic energy drinks are a crime against taste—but worse, they trick your brain into believing you're not as drunk as you are. Bottom line: have a real beer instead. If your beverage of choice carries a silly name like Joose, you're probably too young to drink anyway. —WITH REPORTING BY KIMBERLEY MCLEOD



# Rash Redux

Why chicken pox strikes some adults a second time—as shingles—and how to avoid the repeat



**YOUNG DOCTORS SPEND A LOT OF TIME** solving medical mysteries, and one of the more memorable ones I encountered occurred in the 1990s, when I was a resident in neurosurgery at the University of Michigan. A woman in her mid-60s came to our clinic complaining of severe back pain that wrapped around to her chest. That sounded a lot like a herniated disk, and her primary-care physician wanted me to examine her to determine if surgery was called for.

As she began telling me what she was experiencing, it became clear this might be something other than spinal woes. For one thing, she had had a fever a few days earlier and was feeling run down. She also remembered having severe itchiness in the areas where she now had pain. Her other doctors initially worried that she was having a heart attack or that she had an ulcer, though antacids brought no relief. I asked her to describe the pain. "Stabbing," she said. The clincher was a band of reddened skin—extending from the middle of her back around to her chest—and its double row of tiny blisters. The diagnosis: herpes zoster, known

colloquially as shingles, from the Latin *cingulum*, for belt or girdle.

I was reminded of that patient after researchers at the University of Texas in Houston released a study in May showing that susceptibility to this perplexing, often debilitating disease tends to run in families. Shingles itself is not contagious, although exposure to it can trigger chicken pox in someone who has never had that infection; both are caused by the same virus. Approximately 1 in 3 chicken-pox veterans suffers a reactivation of the bug as an adult, as was the case with my patient in Michigan. Whether the virus, which can lie dormant for decades, resurfaces appears to depend on a lot of things: age is a risk factor, since most cases occur in people 60 or older. Stress and trauma have been implicated too. So has a weakened immune system—which makes sense. Your body has to work to keep a virus shackled for so long. The University of Texas study also made a persuasive case for the role of genetics, comparing more than 500 people who had contracted shingles with more than 500 who had not. They found that shingles patients

were four times as likely as members of the other group to have a parent or sibling who had had shingles.

In most cases, the shingles rash and blisters go away in a few weeks or months, but in some cases the pain can last for years. Antiviral medications can help, and in 2006 the Food and Drug Administration approved a shingles vaccine, which the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) now recommends for all adults 60 and older. The vaccine isn't perfect, but it seems to decrease the target group's risk approximately 50%. Still, it may not be for you. If you have ever had a serious allergic reaction to gelatin or the antibiotic neomycin, you should not get the vaccine. If you have a disease affecting your immune system, like cancer or HIV/AIDS, you should opt out as well. And because the CDC recommendation is so new—it was announced this spring—you might want to check whether the \$150 shot is covered by insurance before you get poked. The vaccine, unfortunately, wasn't an option for my patient, but it may be an option for her relatives, who we now know are at higher risk. ■

## GEEK CHIC

**Postage with the Mostage.** A new stamp in Bhutan includes a mini documentary on CD-ROM



Every country wants to be at the forefront of something. In Bhutan that something is cutting-edge postage stamps. The tiny Himalayan kingdom (or more accurately, the firm in Pittsburgh, Pa., that makes Bhutan's stamps) was the first to release 3-D stamps, steel stamps, scented stamps (way back in 1973), even stamps that could be played on

a tiny record player. Now come the world's first CD-ROM stamps. Self-adhesive wrappers contain documentaries marking the 100th anniversary of Bhutan's monarchy and its shift toward parliamentary democracy. And at nearly 4 sq. in. (26 sq cm), these stamps aren't just pushing the envelope. They're hogging it.

—BY SIMON ROBINSON



# Warming to the Kindle

How I learned to love Amazon's digital book-reading device despite its imperfections


**LOVE HATE**

Corner braces hold the device O.K. but look like they were made in a head shop

**LOVE**

The carrying case's creamy leather and suede rival the feel of a well-made book

**LOVE**

Despite the gray background, the screen is easy to read, even in bright sun

**LOVE HATE**

The lengthy page-forward bar works a little too well. It's easy to lose your place

**LOVE**

The cursor is a "smart" navigator that knows what options you need at any given time

**L**IKE SO MANY GADGET GEEKS, I AM fickle. I fall in love—a sucker for sharp curves that gleam—get bored, then quickly move on to the next new thing.

The Kindle was different. I disliked almost everything about Amazon's handheld digital reader from the moment I saw it. But eight months into our relationship, I've found its hidden charms. My antipathy has flowered into something. Could it be a pure and lasting gadget love?

At first, I hated that the control buttons made it too easy to inadvertently page forward, backward or—if you hit the Back button—somewhere else entirely. I didn't like that it displayed black type on a gray background. (You can't beat black type on a white page.) The battery stank. When I'd put the Kindle in sleep mode and leave it for a few days, it was usually dead on my return. Soon I consigned it to the Quittner Closet Where Old Gadgets Go to Die.

Then one day a few months ago, a friend e-mailed me a manuscript of his first book. It's torture plowing through 350 pages on a computer, and I was too cheap to print it out. So on a lark, I

forwarded the document to Amazon, which converts such things into Kindle-book format for free; minutes later, I had a lovely version on the device. And since I like to get something for nothing, I downloaded from other sites a dozen great, free novels, ranging from James Joyce's *Ulysses* to Cory Doctorow's recent sci-fi novel, *Little Brother*. The giveaways motivated me to meet the Kindle halfway by figuring out how it wanted to be used rather than how I had expected to use it.

An Amazon exec told me last week that Kindle-ized books now account for 12% of all books sold in digital and print versions on the mega-site. That's up 100%

## A Kindle Survivor Guide

1. *Sleep mode drains the battery too quickly. Stick with the on/off button*
2. *If the elastic strap—used to keep the leather cover closed—is positioned just so, it holds the device in place while reading*
3. *Avoid the unpredictable Back button*
4. *Remind yourself that being able to get books wirelessly is worth the frustration*

in two months. The company won't say how many electronic readers have been sold, so it's hard to tell how many people out there have learned to live with the device's imperfections. I did so first by eschewing sleep mode in favor of switching it off because booting the device only takes a few seconds anyway. Then I turned off the wireless connection, powering up the free high-speed service only when book-buying. Those two changes gave me nearly endless battery life. I also developed a technique—holding the device gingerly by its edges—to outwit the awkward control buttons. I even came to accept the black text on a gray background: the Kindle turns out to be easier to read in brilliant sunshine than a paperback.

Like Beauty, I found myself carried away by the quiet virtues of the Beast: how the Kindle feels encased in creamy leather, the way the gadget helps me power through a book superfast and how it lets me take my library on a plane.

Best of all is books on demand—delivered in seconds to the kitchen table on Sunday as I read the weekly book reviews. How great is that? With Amazon charging \$9.99 a title, often a third the price of a new hardcover, the \$359 device pays for itself after you buy about 25 books.

I know that over time, Amazon will fix all the little—insignificant, really—things that initially annoyed me about the Kindle. And when it does? My gadget romance will no doubt be re-Kindled. ■

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# Global Business

□ MEGACITIES □ SMALL BUSINESS



**Hydropolitics**  
Access to the city's water is the key to new developments like Creek City

## MEGACITIES

**Karachi Dreams Big.** Its ambitious mayor has visions of Dubai, but there are grittier issues to resolve first

BY ARYN BAKER / KARACHI

WHAT MAYOR THESE DAYS DOESN'T WANT his city to be world class? The allure of miraculous transformation writ large across a massive cityscape is today's urban alchemy. Syed Mustafa Kamal, 36, is no exception. The mayor of Karachi, Pakistan's sprawling metropolis by the sea, has sworn that his city will rival Dubai in five years.

He's made some progress. He's building a

47-story IT tower with a 10,000-seat call center, one of the biggest in Asia. And the city has completed six over- and underpasses to ease congestion, along with a signal-free crosstown corridor. But he still has a long way to go. More than half the population of 16 million (give or take a few million) lives in ramshackle squatter settlements. Power outages are common. Only about half the city's daily water needs are met. Crime, congestion and political volatility have

plagued this ancient port for decades. Unhappily, terrorism is making inroads. On July 7, six bombs detonated across the city in succession, spreading panic and instability. On Oct. 19, 2007, a suicide bombing at the homecoming rally for former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto killed 141 in the worst terrorist attack in Pakistan's history.

Kamal, who wears the goatee and well-cut suit of the IT professional he once was, waves these issues away as if they were

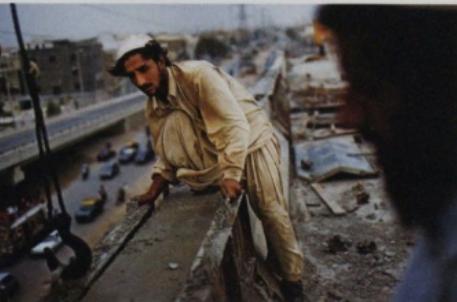
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minor details. "It can be done. It will be done," he says. "In five years time, I can turn this city around."

There is only one caveat. He doesn't control the city. No one does—at least not all of it—and it's a problem that is not Karachi's alone. As big cities expand into megacities, city governments don't necessarily go along for the ride. That makes governance a chore and development a nightmare. Karachi is made up of 18 towns and six cantonments—legacies of a military system that awards high-ranking officials with prime allotments of land. A local board runs each cantonment. It charges fees and sets plans. It builds roads, digs sewers and erects traffic lights. It organizes maintenance and garbage collection.

And none of them are answerable to the city government. It's kind of like a condominium board made up of former Marines taking over an entire city block. "You can't even run a house when you have more than one owner, so how can you operate a city with so many different bosses?" asks Kamal. As it turns out, not easily.

Every year Karachi is inundated by the monsoon rains of late summer. Last year floods paralyzed the city for more than two weeks; workers navigated the streets in small boats as if the city were an Asian Venice. Twenty-eight people died—some drowned, and some were electrocuted when live wires hit the water.

Kamal has spent \$2.6 million in the past year excavating and renovating the city's fetid wastewater canals. But the work had to stop at the cantonment lines. Some of the cantonment boards worked with the mayor. Others revamped only parts of their cantonment, leaving out the impoverished areas. And at least two of the cantonments have filled in drainage canals in order to build new luxury developments. That may help with Kamal's Dubai scheme, but those upstream will suffer. And Kamal will get the blame. "When everything goes right, no one thanks me," he complains. "But when there are problems, even if they are in the cantonments and I have no jurisdiction, they come to me to complain."

If too much water is a problem, so is not

**Ramping up** Infrastructure work, above left, reflects the mayor's plans to make Karachi the next Dubai within five years

**On the job** A road worker, above, removes concrete boxing on a new overpass

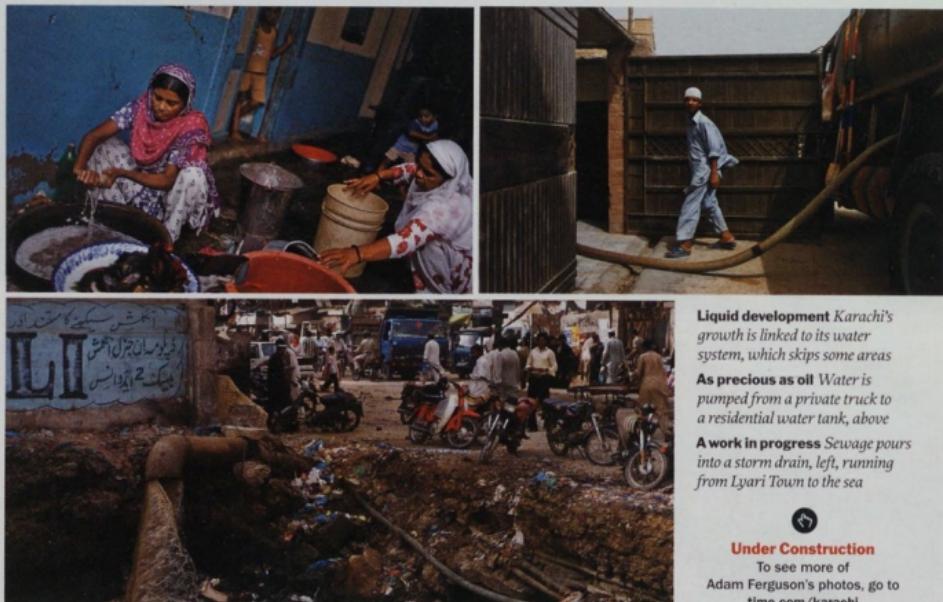
**Mayor in the middle** Kamal, center left, must deal with a tangle of authorities

**'You can't even run a house when you have more than one owner, so how can you operate a city with so many different bosses?'**

—SYED MUSTAFA KAMAL,  
MAYOR OF KARACHI

having enough. The mayor is supposed to sit at the head of the Karachi water and sewage board, an ungainly and corruption-ridden department that governs the entire city's water supply. For politicians on the make, however, it is the ultimate prize. Fresh water is a scarce resource in Karachi; its steady delivery is often used to thank political supporters. Not only that, but the Karachi water board also has some 8,000 jobs available—invaluable political capital.

Now this is where it gets complicated. For the past four years, Karachi has been governed by Kamal's party, the rough-and-tumble Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)—which represents ethnic Mohajirs, who arrived in Pakistan from India at partition (think Richard J. Daley's men in Chicago, with mustaches), and was aligned with former general and current Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf. However, Sindh province, where Karachi is located, is run by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the national party that trounced Musharraf's early this year. (Benazir Bhutto was its chairwoman before she was assassinated.)



**Liquid development** Karachi's growth is linked to its water system, which skips some areas

**As precious as oil** Water is pumped from a private truck to a residential water tank, above

**A work in progress** Sewage pours into a storm drain, left, running from Lyari Town to the sea



#### Under Construction

To see more of Adam Ferguson's photos, go to [time.com/karachi](http://time.com/karachi)

In May while Kamal, the MQM man, was in New York City attending a conference, the PPP provincial government staged a mini-coup, taking over Kamal's office at the water board, installing one of its own and removing Kamal's nameplate. Suleiman Chandio, the newly appointed managing director of the board, says the board was always under the jurisdiction of the provincial government. It was only under the military government of Musharraf that the valuable portfolio was handed to the MQM mayoralty in return for support. Besides, says Chandio, Kamal abused his position by giving only MQM supporters jobs at the board.

Kamal denies the accusations, pointing out that for the past two and a half years, he has spent nearly \$500 million on water and sewer projects throughout the city, principally in impoverished districts that have never voted for his party. Bhit Island, a tiny sliver of land studded with concrete and corrugated-iron shanties a 10-minute ferry ride from the coast, is one such neighborhood. For decades the native Sindhi residents (and PPP voters) have depended on tanker boats to take water to the island. But in February, just before the elections, Kamal was able to finish an undersea pipeline project that delivered fresh

water directly to the island for the first time. Walls in the village that once were emblazoned with only PPP slogans sport the red-green-and-white banners of the MQM these days as well. Each of the island's 1,200 or so houses now boasts a white plastic pipe topped by a red faucet handle.

Not all of them work. Corruption flows with water. Some families with influence—or cash—were able to install two faucets, which means that households farther down the pipeline receive none. The pump-house overseer estimates that 30% of the island's residents don't get the water they were promised. "What's the use of new water lines when there is no water in them?" asks Hoor Bhai Hajani, 60, matriarch of a family of 20. She gestures at the dusty faucet in her courtyard. A limp hose is coiled underneath, the deflated hope of her entire family. "We were so happy when we heard the news that the island would have water. Now it is just painful."

A month and a half after the board coup, the federal government stepped in and ordered the provincial government to give the water portfolio back to the mayor. Many suspect the reversal resulted from heated negotiations between the warring parties. Now Kamal has a vice chair, appointed by the PPP,

in addition to the managing director. It's the kind of power-sharing arrangement that has marked Pakistani politics for the past several years.

It's also the kind of agreement that has paralyzed progress. "The appointment of the managing director and vice chairman might create hindrance in planning and decision-making processes," says Kamal, but he's willing to wait and see.

The fight to control Karachi is a brutal political game. So why would the former IT Minister even want the job? Kamal throws his arms up in mock exasperation. "It's not a bed of roses," he concedes. "If I were given an opportunity to have an honorable exit, I would walk out right now."

But honorable for Kamal would be fulfilling his pledge. And the alchemical goal of a world-class city still beckons. Karachi's unruly sprawl of commercial and residential development has grown up around one of the most important harbors on the Arabian Sea. It occupies a strategic position between the Middle East and India that has made it a trading hub for centuries. It is also the gateway to Central Asia. "Karachi has so much potential," Kamal says quietly. "It is not just a city. It is the future of Pakistan. If Karachi develops and prospers, so will the country." Despite the frustrations, expect Kamal to pursue his goal. —WITH REPORTING BY SHAHZAD SHAH JILLANI ■



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# LET THE GAMES BEGIN



BEIJING NATIONAL STADIUM: A MONUMENT TO THE OLYMPICS.

## Olympic sponsors play a critical, behind-the-scenes role—and set a high bar for sports marketing.

**I**t is remarkable what five interlocking rings can do for corporate partnership. The Olympic logo is one of the world's most recognized symbols, and over the years successful companies have drawn on its power to share in the winning values the rings represent. In turn, those official sponsors have become as crucial to the staging of the Games as the athletes themselves.

For the Games of the XXIX Olympiad in Beijing this summer, the 12 worldwide Olympic sponsors have provided an estimated \$866 million in revenues, goods, and services, a figure that transcends mere marketing. Those resources represent 40% of the International Olympic Committee's overall intake,

and they help with everything from training and developing Olympic athletes to ensuring that the timekeeping clocks run as precisely as possible.

"Without our sponsors, the Olympic Games would not be what they are today," says Timo Lumme, the IOC's marketing director. "This is not about selling corporate exposure. The partners' support allows more athletes from more countries to compete in the Games, and they deliver the services and resources that are the driving force of the Olympic Movement."

As billions turn their attention to Beijing, the TOP Partners, as the exclusive global sponsors have been known collectively since 1985, once again demonstrate that Olympic sponsorship is unique in the world of athletics. True, the partners reap the benefits of a world-class global platform, but the Olympics calls for a multifaceted approach that sets the bar for sports marketing.

"The Olympic Games are a noble, almost sacred event that creates opportunities for its partners extending far beyond the realm of profits and portfolio," says Kevin Tressler, director of sports and entertainment marketing for Coca-Cola Co., the

**GOING GREEN: THE WATER CUBE AQUATICS CENTER IN BEIJING USES SOLAR ENERGY TO HEAT ITS SWIMMING POOL.**



longest continuous sponsor of the Games. The company sponsored the 1928 Games in Amsterdam and every one since, with a commitment extending through 2020.

As part of the TOP Program, Coke supports 205 National Olympic Committees worldwide, and for the Beijing Games, Coke co-sponsored the Olympic Torch Relay. The company also released its "WE8" series of eight highly stylized aluminum contour bottles designed by China's leading forces in graphic arts, all inspired by the "Coke Side of Life" platform. And Coke, for the first time, is sending employees from around the world to serve as ambassadors at the Games. As Tressler says, "Our support is part of a strategic initiative, but it's also a way for us, as a corporation, to live by the highest principles of the Olympic Games—optimism, integrity, happiness, and making positive connections around the world."

All of which, by the way, must be accomplished entirely behind the scenes. The IOC's continuing insistence on a "clean" field of play demands that the only brand visible to spectators and the multitudes of television viewers is the Olympic brand itself. There are no sponsor logos on soccer jerseys or banners at courtside. Instead, the focus is on resourcefulness. "The sheer variety and creativity of the initiatives employed by our partners is staggering," says the IOC's Lumme. "You can't be an Olympic sponsor by being passive. It is always a dynamic process and that dynamism has kept the Games on the leading edge of marketing."

### Partners in Excellence

Things have evolved naturally since the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, when Eastman Kodak became the inaugural corporate benefactor. After 27 Olympiads, Kodak remains a vital presence and expects to produce more than 300,000 security badges for athletes, coaches, and officials, as well as run an image center to provide photo services and printing for the media and members of the Olympic family.

Today, the Olympic Games' roster of partners includes many of the world's most respected and successful corporations. All bring something unique to

Beijing and all share in the Olympic glory. "The Olympic Games provides sponsors with access to an iconic brand platform that is centered on celebrating human achievement," says Antonio Lucio, Visa's chief marketing officer. "It is one of a handful of global sporting events that has the ability to bring people, communities, and nations together peacefully to compete in sport, encourage dialogue, and foster goodwill."

Sponsorship is also good for the bottom line. Says Lucio: "Like any investment Visa makes, we evaluate its effectiveness to ensure that we're delivering value for the company, our clients, and our shareholders, and I can tell you conclusively that Visa's partnership with the Olympic Movement has been very beneficial for this organization and our partner financial institutions and merchants."

Visa supports Olympic athletes through the entire run of their careers through the Team Visa athlete program. Visa, the official payment service, is the only card accepted at Olympic venues.

Another longtime sponsor, McDonald's, this year marks its 40th anniversary with the Olympic Movement. At the 1968 Winter Games, the company, which became an official sponsor in 1976, airlifted hamburgers to U.S. athletes competing in Grenoble, France after they reported they were homesick for McDonald's food. Since then, the company has served millions of athletes, their families, and fans. As official restaurant of the Olympic Games for the seventh consecutive time, the company constructed four official Olympic restaurants in Beijing. Customers will be served by McDonald's "Olympic Champion Crew," a team of 1,300 of the company's top employees.

Financial services provider Manulife also leverages its Olympic sponsorship to motivate its workforce. The company rewards selected employees by enabling them to experience the Olympic Games in person, as well as to participate in an initiative, that has helped establish over 100 libraries for underprivileged children. The company's theme for the Games this year is "Bringing Dreams to Life," which is



THE ONLY CARD ACCEPTED AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES:  
VISA IS THE OFFICIAL PAYMENT SYSTEM.

exactly what Manulife did for 32 Asian athletes, whose sponsorships paved the way for them to compete in Beijing. "Many athletes benefit from our partners' generosity long before they arrive at the Games, and sponsorship is often what allows them to compete," says the IOC's Lumme.

Having first provided services to the Olympic Movement in 1932, Omega assumes the role of official Olympic timekeeper for the 23rd time in Beijing. Long an innovator in bringing photo finishes to the Games, Omega this year unveils state-of-the-art scoreboards to keep the public and press informed, and will deliver live feeds to the Internet, where it will be possible to follow the competitions in real time. Omega's presence at the Games is impressive: 450 on-site professionals, 420 tons of equipment—including 70 public scoreboards and 322 sport-specific scoreboards—not to mention timekeeping for 28 sports at 37 venues.

### High-definition Games

Panasonic, which began its involvement with the Olympic Movement in 1984, supplies state-of-the-art digital audio and video equipment, including flat-screen TVs, professional digital video cameras, and DVD recorders. For the past several Games, Panasonic has also served as the official broadcast equipment supplier, playing a vital role in delivering the sights, sounds, and unique excitement of the competition through its Astrovision LED video screens, professional audio systems, and digital broadcast equipment. Thanks to Panasonic, 2008 will be the first fully high-definition Games.

Also a co-sponsor of the Olympic Torch Relay, Samsung is responsible for the Games' wireless technology. Through its Wireless Olympic Works (WOW) platform, the company allows athletes to share their experiences with family and friends around the world. Samsung continues to display its Olympic spirit by sponsoring the Olympic Rendezvous @ Samsung pavilion, which showcases the latest wireless technology and offers live entertainment.

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THE TORCH  
TO MODERN  
CHINA



FEEDING THE ATHLETES: McDONALD'S IS THE OFFICIAL RESTAURANT OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

since 2002, Atos' Olympic Games team includes 4,000 IT experts, providing solutions around the clock to keep Olympic technology—and the Games themselves—running flawlessly.

As the only Chinese TOP Partner and a co-sponsor of the Olympic Torch Relay, Lenovo, the largest manufacturer of PCs in China, has a unique presence. Along with designing the striking scroll-like Olympic Torch, Lenovo is providing more than 10,000 pieces of computing equipment and 500 engineers to help deliver data and results from more than 300 events to the media and audiences around the world.

An official sponsor since 2005, GE is another powerhouse of support, outfitting the Beijing Games with lighting, energy generation and distribution, and transportation systems. With more than 350 infrastructure projects, from water treatment to advanced security and medical technologies, GE is uniquely positioned to "bring good things" to the Olympic Games. NBC Universal, a GE division, is the exclusive U.S. media partner of the Olympic Games, a partnership that extends through 2012.

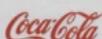
No other partner provides care at the Games quite like Johnson & Johnson. Guided by the Chinese phrase *Yin Ai Er Sheng* ("Because we care, we act"), the company's Beijing initiatives focus on the well-being of countless athletes and visitors. From providing medical services and personal-care products for athletes and Olympic officials to helping 80 Chinese physicians and 2,000 other medical personnel prepare for the Games, Johnson & Johnson, which made its debut in Torino in 2006, sees the Olympic Games as a focus for corporate social responsibility, which is at the very heart of its brand.

That, of course, is the whole point of Olympic sponsorship. "Our partners share the brand values that the IOC safeguards, trusts, and respects, and in doing so the partners become part of the Olympic family," Lumme says. "We work hard to pursue their interests and they work hard to pursue ours, and that is what every successful partnership has in common. It's all a vital part of a virtuous cycle." •



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**Bag lady**

*Rowe with her green grocery sacks, amid a shower of offending plastic*

**SMALL BUSINESS**

## String Theory.

Sharon Rowe saw the green wave in reusable shopping bags. She was just a couple of decades early

BY COELI CARR

SHARON ROWE KNEW HER FLEDGLING business had struck a chord when she sold 3,000 string bags at five bucks apiece in four hours flat during an Earth Day celebration. Given how green-conscious we've become, that doesn't seem unusual. She did this 18 years ago. Today her belief in the environmental beauty of reusable bags is paying off. In a world where sustainability equals marketability, reusable bags are a must item. In 2007, Eco-Bags Products, her company in Ossining, N.Y., generated sales of \$2.2 million, a 300% increase over the prior year. She sees revenues doubling this year—perhaps along with the competition. The growth has been "like a wave" that has yet to crest, says Rowe.

According to market-research company NPD's Accessories Tracker, the hottest

accessory in the U.S. over last year through May 2008 has been reusable shopping totes. During that period, sales for these bags rose 72%. NPD's chief consumer analyst, Marshal Cohen, says consumers clearly see the environmental benefit reusables have over plastic. They bestow green-pop-culture "bragging rights," especially because celebrities use them, says Colleen Ryan, an analyst at market researcher Mintel.

Eco-Bags started in 1989 when Rowe asked a friend to bring back a string shopping bag from Europe for her. Light and scrunchable, woven bags—long a staple on the Continent—could easily be tossed into handbags for impulse purchases. Rowe's friends liked her new find and wanted their

**Packable** ChicoBags fold up

own. Rowe, then a sales executive, found a supplier in Germany, trademarked the name ecobags and began to sell to natural-food stores.

In 1992, hit by rising import costs, Rowe found a new supplier in Mumbai (formerly Bombay) that provided more colors and styles. Three years later, she added canvas bags for suburbanites who wanted a more structured bag to load in their cars, and in 1996 she started using organic cotton. Retailers began paying attention. When natural-foods chain Fresh Fields asked Rowe to print its name on the string bags, a green branding device was born. Today her clients include supermarkets, corporations and nonprofits. Rowe sells about 100 products made of string, canvas and recycled materials at prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$42.

Rowe has an unusual approach to her competitors: she sells their products, including those of ChicoBags. Andy Keller, a green-conscious software salesman before he founded the ChicoBag Co. in Chico, Calif., in 2004, suspected a lot more people would tote their own shopping bags if only they could remember to pack them. His solution was to make the ChicoBag's small storage pouch part of the bag. The product's patented design helped generate sales of \$2 million in 2007. He, too, projects revenues will double in 2008. About half his business comes from customizing the nylon bags—they retail for about \$5 and are available in 10 colors—for nonprofits, schools and corporations.

Reusables may even be too hot. "They are becoming a commodity market, and the business is getting increasingly competitive, with new companies popping up every week," says Keller, who's concerned that if the bags are priced too low, people will treat them as disposable, defeating their purpose.

For now, reusables are hip. Whole Foods, which stopped using plastic bags this April, has "sold in excess of 2 million reusable bags in many styles," says Michael Besancon, who heads Whole Foods' green initiative. The Container Store introduced a reusable made of recycled billboard material for \$29.99. "Sales have been amazing," says Mona Williams, who oversees the buying department. "Consumer attitudes toward reusables have radically changed. It's not a fad. It's a lifestyle change." Rowe would agree. Reusables are "the poster child for the green movement," she says. It's her payoff on a nearly 20-year-old goal to clean up the planet, "one bag at a time."



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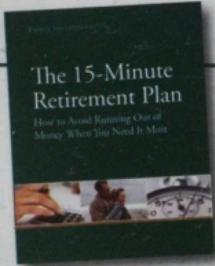
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VIEWPOINT, PAGE 59

# Arts

□ MOVIES □ BOOKS □ DOWNTIME

## Golden-girl power

The prima Donna (Streep), flanked by friends from her wild youth (Walters, left, and Baranski)



## MOVIES

**Take a Chance on *Mia*?** The film of the hit musical *Mamma Mia!* is either awful or irresistible. It all depends on how much you like Abba

BY RICHARD CORLISS

FOR A COUPLE OF DECADES NOW, THE STARS of big movies have been trending younger, until it seemed that the next generation of the Hollywood élite would emerge not from high schools but from the womb. This summer, though, has brought good news for geriatric actors—those over 30. Harrison Ford, who at 66 is, in movie years, practically a sequoia, looked at least as vigorous as the

*Indiana Jones* film he headlined. Comic-book epics also have middle-aged men in lead roles: Robert Downey Jr., 43, in *Iron Man* and 58-year-old Ron Perlman in *Hellboy II*. The cosmo-swigging quartet of *Sex and the City* range in age from 42 to 51, yet the film has earned about \$350 million worldwide. Elders are getting a little respect. In action films and romantic comedy, old is new.

Now the big genre challenge: musicals. The very form is antique. Young filmgoers

often have to be told why the people in these movies are suddenly singing instead of speaking. And nothing dates faster than musical styles. The great American songbook of Gershwin and Porter and Rodgers standards can sound positively atonal to teen ears, just as hip-hop seems melody-deficient to the folks with hearing aids.

So who'll go see *Mamma Mia!*, the new movie based on the 1999 stage show with nearly two dozen songs by the Swedish



**Who's your daddy? The three potential fathers (Skarsgård, Brosnan and Firth) with the daughter (Seyfried)**



pop group Abba that were hits some two decades earlier? One guess: a lot of the women who saw *Sex and the City*, plus kids who loved *High School Musical*, plus some gay guys. And, a big plus, most of those who saw the original musical, which by now has grossed over \$2 billion—more than any movie has ever earned in theaters.

But making a mint could be a struggle. The other big film musicals of this decade—*Chicago*, *Dreamgirls* and *Hairspray*—had casts of mostly young actors. The *Mamma Mia!* contingent is different, as will now be proved with a précis of the movie's plot (a knockoff of the 1968 comedy *Buona Sera, Mrs. Campbell*) and a few actuarial stats.

Donna (Meryl Streep, 59), an American who runs a little hotel on a remote Greek island, has invited two old friends, Tanya (Christine Baranski, 56) and Rosie (Julie Walters, 58), to join her for the wedding of her daughter Sophie (Amanda Seyfried, who is, all right, 22). Sophie, who doesn't know who her father is, has found Donna's diary from the summer she got pregnant. Her dad must be one of the three men mentioned in the diary. Sophie lures them all to the island—Sam (Pierce Brosnan, 55), Bill (Stellan Skarsgård, 57) and Harry (Colin Firth, the baby at 47). They arrive the day before the wedding, and intrigue ensues. Who's the real father? Will Donna be able to cope with three thorny reminders of her wild youth? And how will the movie shoe-horn such Abba hits as *Waterloo* and *Money, Money* into this far-fetched farago?

The last question is the easiest to answer. Benny Andersson and Björn Ulvaeus, the boy half of Abba, may have been writing for the Top 40, but their songs explored a gamut of dramatic situations, from the vagaries of celebrity (*Super Trouper, Does Your Mother Know*) to the wistfulness a woman feels as her daughter grows up (*Slipping Through My Fingers*). And since Abba's vocalists were women (Anni-Frid Lyngstad and Agnetha Faltskog), the guys composed enough hits over the group's nine-year run to accommodate all the female characters in *Mamma Mia!*

#### **Great Music, Weird Movie**

WE'LL SAY THIS ONCE, THEN RUN FOR cover: Abba was not just the top-selling group of the '70s; Andersson and Ulvaeus created the smartest, most buoyant body of work from any pop group since the Beatles. Their gaudy gear, with the spangles and spandex, made them easy to deride,

**The film wants to tap the Abba mood but does so with a sledgehammer. Eventually, though, it beats down even the most stalwart viewer, in a Guantanámo of giddiness**

but their real sin was that they lacked "depth," which is to say they didn't pretend to be miserable. Instead, like pop performers from an earlier age, they pretended to be happy. Their music did too. The lyrics to the song *Mamma Mia* confess to erotic obsession and serial masochism, but the perky melody puts the pain at an ironic distance. It was heartache you could disco to. That's why millions of people, not all of them idiots, felt better listening to Abba's music. Hearing it now, people still do.

That's the mood the *Mamma Mia!* movie tries to tap, but with a sledgehammer. The cast, especially the older women, is given to giggles and girlish body language. You're meant to think everyone making the film had a great time, so you should too. At one point, Streep shouts, "Let's go have fun!" But the bonhomie is oppressive; the high spirits are not impromptu but imposed: Listen, people, you will haff fun!

The chief exponent, or perp, is Streep. She's lively and limber, executing a saddle jump to gymnastic perfection while bouncing on a bed and singing *Dancing Queen*. But she also spends a long part of the film in a strenuous simulacrum of pleasure. She has the laughs the way a consumptive has the coughs. You worry that when Streep dies and goes to Actor Heaven, the recording angel will say, "On this scale we have decades of transcendent performances, and on this scale, that *Mamma Mia!* thing. Begone!"

One problem is that the creators of the stage show—producer Judy Craymer,

writer Catherine Johnson and director Phyllida Lloyd—gave themselves the job of turning it into a big movie, but none had ever worked on one, and the inexperience shows. A small point: the glare of the Greek sunlight is punishing to the face of anyone over 30. A larger one: the dance numbers are edited so choppy that the rhythm and feeling of the songs suffer.

### Surrendering to the Feeling

THE INANITIES MULTIPLY. FIRTH'S CHARACTER has a reverie song, *Our Last Summer*, but it's about Paris, not Greece. And all the chat about the year Sophie was conceived evokes hippies and flower power, which suggest 1967, but the film is set in the present, so that ecstatic summer was more like 1987, when the cry was less "Free love!" than "Let's not have sex because we might die."

Eventually, as Donna and her gal pals don trashy frocks to do Abba's greatest hits and a Greek chorus of villagers materializes as a backup group for practically every number, *Mamma Mia!*'s flouting of narrative and visual logic starts to suggest a cunning subversion. The film is not failed kitsch but triumphant Dada. It exists in an alternative universe, an Abbaworld, where 40 years telescopes to 20, the Seine is the Aegean, and Streep's outsize cheerfulness is the expression of a soul in mortal panic.

In the end, the movie beats down even the most stalwart viewer's resistance, in a Guantánamo of giddiness. The supporting actresses help out. Baranski, slim and large-mouthed, and Walters, wizened and hiding behind shades, might be Mick and Keith in a Rolling Stones girl tribute band, and they lend all their show-biz savvy to vivid renditions of, respectively, *Does Your Mother Know* and *Take a Chance on Me*. Seyfried, from the HBO series *Big Love*, is in full control of Sophie, the film's one sensible character. And Streep comes back to earth in a handsomely calibrated rendition of the power ballad *The Winner Takes It All*. By the end-credit sequence, when the stars appear in spandex outfits to reprise *Dancing Queen*, the audience may be singing along as if they'd overdosed on ouzo.

The older ones, anyway. For them, this is prime nostalgia. For those too young to remember the Abba years, it's just faux-nostalgia. But even that has its allure. It can turn a hapless movie into a fun one. And if you don't like the *Mamma Mia!* film, you can still hum those tunes all the way home. ■

### Viewpoint

# Giving Up the Fight

What kept the U.S. from liking Abba for three decades? One longtime fan has the answer

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

AT WATERLOO, AS YOU MAY HAVE HEARD, Napoleon did surrender. Oh, yeah, and America has met its destiny in quite a similar way. Having held out admirably for decades, the U.S. has at last fully succumbed to the charms of the stickiest thing to come out of Scandinavia since the sauna. When 14-time Oscar nominee Meryl Streep is in 3,000 cinemas nationwide singing *Dancing Queen*, it's time to break out ze white flag, *mes frères*.

This capitulation is perhaps a more important moment in U.S. history than it first appears. I have a theory: a country enjoys Abba's music in inverse relation to its own global significance. I observed this firsthand growing up in the world's most Abbaricious country, Australia. In

1976, 54% of my compatriots watched the local TV special *The Best of Abba*. That's as many of them as watched the moon landing. The album of the same name is still Australia's best-selling ever.

The rest of the world soon caught the bug. Except the U.S. When the band finally toured here in 1979 (ABBA, SWEDISH QUARTET, IN NEW YORK DEBUT, observed the *New York Times*), critics compared the foursome unfavorably to Fleetwood Mac, the Eagles and the Beach Boys.

But where is your precious Fleetwood Mac now? Does the Internet list more than 50 Eagles tribute bands? (Or any with as good a name as Abbaration?) Did the Beach Boys have a musical on Broadway? They did, actually. It died. Meanwhile, *Mamma Mia!* has been on Broadway since October 2007. Note the date—a moment when America sorely needed comfort food. It was as if the country had sent out a national SOS and Abba supplied the perfect rescue vehicle: SOS.

Yes, it's easier to revive the things that were reviled the first time. The Beatles and Shakespeare need no comeback and thus have less nostalgia value. But Abba has been making these incursions into American culture (*Muriel's Wedding*: The Gold album!) for 35 years. That persistence suggests the band offers an appeal beyond the obvious one of watching unathletic people in white catsuits and platform boots. Why the cultural valence?

Oh, we could talk about the deceptive simplicity of Björn Ulvaeus and Benny Andersson's melodies. How their exchange-student lyrics imbued the songs with an innocence that is one of pop's purest pleasures. How the really powerful cultural forces are those that make you forget your dignity. (Yes, Meryl, we mean you.) We could observe that Abba's music is best enjoyed by those who know that events are not entirely in their control. Hence America, the unassailable superpower, had no use for it until recently.

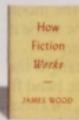
Or we could just admit that America was overpowered, like Napoleon, by the strategic superiority shown in *Waterloo*, a song about 19th century Belgium that makes you want to dance. Sometimes, as that song says, you feel like you win when you lose. ■



# A Fan's Notes.

A new book teaches us how to read novels. But wait—didn't we already know how to do that?

BY LEV GROSSMAN



**IN HOW FICTION WORKS** (Farrar, Straus and Giroux; 265 pages), James Wood tells a story from Joseph Roth's *The Radetzky March*, a novel that since its publication in 1932 has probably been read

by only two people, namely James Wood and Joseph Roth. A military officer visits his servant, who is on his deathbed. When the officer enters, the old servant tries to click his heels together, even though he is under the covers and his feet are bare. It's a moment of deep, lancing pathos, when you seem to take in both characters' entire lives for an instant, as if they were two figures suddenly lit up by a lightning flash on a dark night.

Wood cites this anecdote—and, in a bravura display, four others that are just as poignant—in support of a technical point he's making about free indirect discourse and characterization. The funny thing about it is that even if you don't understand what he's talking about, the anecdotes still

slay you. In other words, you don't have to know what free indirect discourse is to read it, because you already know how to read it. Which raises the question: Do we really need to know *How Fiction Works*?

Books about how to read fiction are a thriving business. This summer also brings us Thomas C. Foster on *How to Read Novels Like a Professor* (Harper; 304 pages) and John Mullan on *How Novels Work* (Oxford; 346 pages), though Wood, as a book critic for the *New Yorker*, is the heavyweight of the field. These books fall into the curious netherworld of extra-academic literary theory. They are the last, depleted descendants of what used to be called aesthetics, the branch of philosophy that theorized the human response to works of art. For most intents and purposes, aesthetics collapsed in 1970 under the weight of Theodor Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory*. What's left is books like *How Fiction Works*—which is, oddly, a delight, but not for the reason it's supposed to be.

The pleasure of the book lies in watching Wood read. For Wood, the history of the novel is itself like a novel, in which

genius-heroes perform astounding feats of literary innovation. Proust finds a new way to render character in *Swann's Way* ("Progress!" Wood shouts); Flaubert ("the bearish Norman, wrapped in his dressing gown") writes prose with a precision that until then had been reserved for poetry, and in the process inadvertently invents realism as we know it; Tolstoy narrates the fading consciousness inside a freshly severed head. Wood's enthusiasm is glorious. Reading alongside him is like going bird-

## For Wood, the history of the novel is itself like a novel, in which genius-heroes perform feats of literary innovation

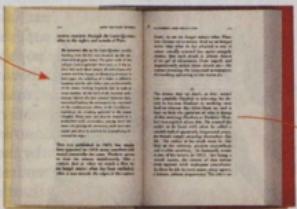
ing with somebody who has better binoculars than yours and is willing to share.

Wood writes about books the way other people write about sports; authors aren't so much Olympian as Olympic. Woolf writes, in *The Waves*: "The day waves yellow with all its crops." Wood reads this sentence so hard that he practically topples into it: "The effect is suddenly that the day itself, the very fabric and temporality of the day, seems saturated in yellow. And then that peculiar, apparently nonsensical 'waves yellow' (how can anything wave yellow?), conveys a sense that yellowness has so intensely taken over the day itself that it has taken over our verbs, too—yellowness has conquered our agency." It's like Woolf landed a 108° at the X Games. (Wood knows how to boo, too, and he singles out one book in particular: *Terrorist*, by his colleague at the *New Yorker*, John Updike. You can picture Updike raising one of his long, feathery, white eyebrows in response.)

The point of *How Fiction Works* is supposed to be Wood's theory of the novel. And yes, we dutifully make the rounds of narration, dialogue and so on, topics that inspire in even the most passionate reader a special, pure kind of boredom. But as Wood himself observes, "The novel is the great virtuoso of exceptionalism: it always wriggles out of the rules thrown around it." The novel is corrosive to systematic thought—whatever is good about it is precisely that increment that resists theorization. The great pleasure of Wood's book lies in the examples, not the points they prove, and the lessons lie in watching him read, not think. The novel exists only in practice, not in theory, in the moment when the brain hits the page—the moment when a dying servant's bare heels meet beneath the sheets on his deathbed. ■

**The fiction This passage from Gustave Flaubert's Sentimental Education follows the hero, Frédéric Moreau, on a leisurely stroll through Paris**

He sauntered idly up the Latin Quarter, usually bustling with life but now deserted, for the students had all gone home. The great walls of the colleges looked grimmer than ever, as if the silence had made them longer; all sorts of peaceful



The reason that we don't, at first, notice how carefully Flaubert is selecting his details is because Flaubert is working very hard to obscure this labor from us, and is keen to hide the question of who is doing all this noticing: Flaubert or Frédéric? Flau-

# **It's time to stop America's addiction to foreign oil.**



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## Downtime



## **5 Things You Need to Know About. New Nas, lustful puppets and a letter from captivity**

MUSIC

**Nas** *Untitled; out now*

This album's eagerness to please all constituencies—from the streets (*N.I.\*\*\*.E.R.*) to the pop programmers (*Hero*)—ends up leaving everyone feeling a little played. But the piano-tinkling free-association opener is a crisp reminder of how good Nas can be when he's talking straight. **C+**

SIMSPAR

**Sam Sparro** *Sam Sparro*; out now

Early Prince is the reference point on this Aussie's gospel electro-tunk debut—at least on *Black & Gold* and *21st Century Life*, naughty, hook-filled dance cuts with just enough wit to keep your brain engaged. But when the wit vanishes (as it does on *Cottommouth*, the dumbest song ever written about pot), he sounds more like late Jamiroquai. Which is to say, ew. **B-**

DVDS

**Comedy Central's TV Funhouse** Out July 22

This eight-episode kid-TV spoof from Robert Smigel (*Saturday Night Live*) confirms your darkest suspicions about animal puppet-show stars. Filled with satiric cartoons and tales of zoological lust and depravity, it's not suitable for kids (or PETA members), but it's disturbingly brilliant. **A-**

**Saving Grace** Season 1: out now

Hard-living cop Grace Hanadarko (Holly Hunter) is on the road to self-destruction (and driving it drunk) when she gets a tough-love intervention from an actual angel. (He's saving Grace! Get it?) The tone is erratic and the crime stories tepid, but Hunter gives a heavenly performance. **B**

10

Books 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

**Letters to My Mother** By Ingrid Betancourt; out now  
The publishing industry is betting on the dramatic rescue of political hostage Betancourt to yield a blockbuster or two. This slim volume, a missive discovered during the arrest of several Colombian guerrillas last year, is the beginning. Filled with love of family, God and country, it is the impassioned story of an older Anne Frank who retained her faith in humanity. A

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Nancy

# Gibbs

## Throw the Bums Out! And bring in some new bums. Why 2008 is a great time to be a political outsider

**YOU REMEMBER JACK KEVORKIAN**, THE PATHOLOGICAL pathologist who, when he wasn't transfusing blood from corpses, refining his "mercitron" machine or arguing for an auction market for human organs, used to help people commit suicide in a rusty van in a public park. So maybe it's no surprise that in the Year of the Outsider, he's finally out of jail (eight years for second-degree murder) and running for Congress as an independent in the Fifth District in Michigan.

There's something touching about a man who spent his life defying laws now wanting to write them. Dr. Death has little to commend him to voters except not being a career politician, but in this season that might count for something. The 260 laws passed by the 110th Congress represent a 30-year low, and they include the naming of 74 post offices, not to mention the nonbinding resolutions designating July National Watermelon Month and recognizing dirt as an essential natural resource. Approval of Congress has sunk to a record low: 9% of people in a Rasmussen poll think lawmakers are doing a good or excellent job. The happiest news in this for the Democrats running the place is that about 40% of voters think the Republicans are still in charge.

This all suggests that if voters are serious about change, craving a new kind of politics, then they can't stop with the White House: Capitol Hill will also need a makeover. Members of Congress were never meant to have tenure; the more anti-Federalist of the founders wouldn't have wanted a government that required full-time, much less lifelong, service. Lawmakers usually pitched in for a few years upholstering the work of the framers, then went back to their plantations or law practices. This model of the citizen-legislator held for about 100 years, until government began to expand after the Civil War and the realignments of the 1890s made for safer seats where lawmakers could tuck in for a long ride.

It is now so expensive to run for Congress that incumbents, who have no other day job and better access to cash, enjoy a re-election rate of better than 90%. The only hope for turnover is for members to hate the job so

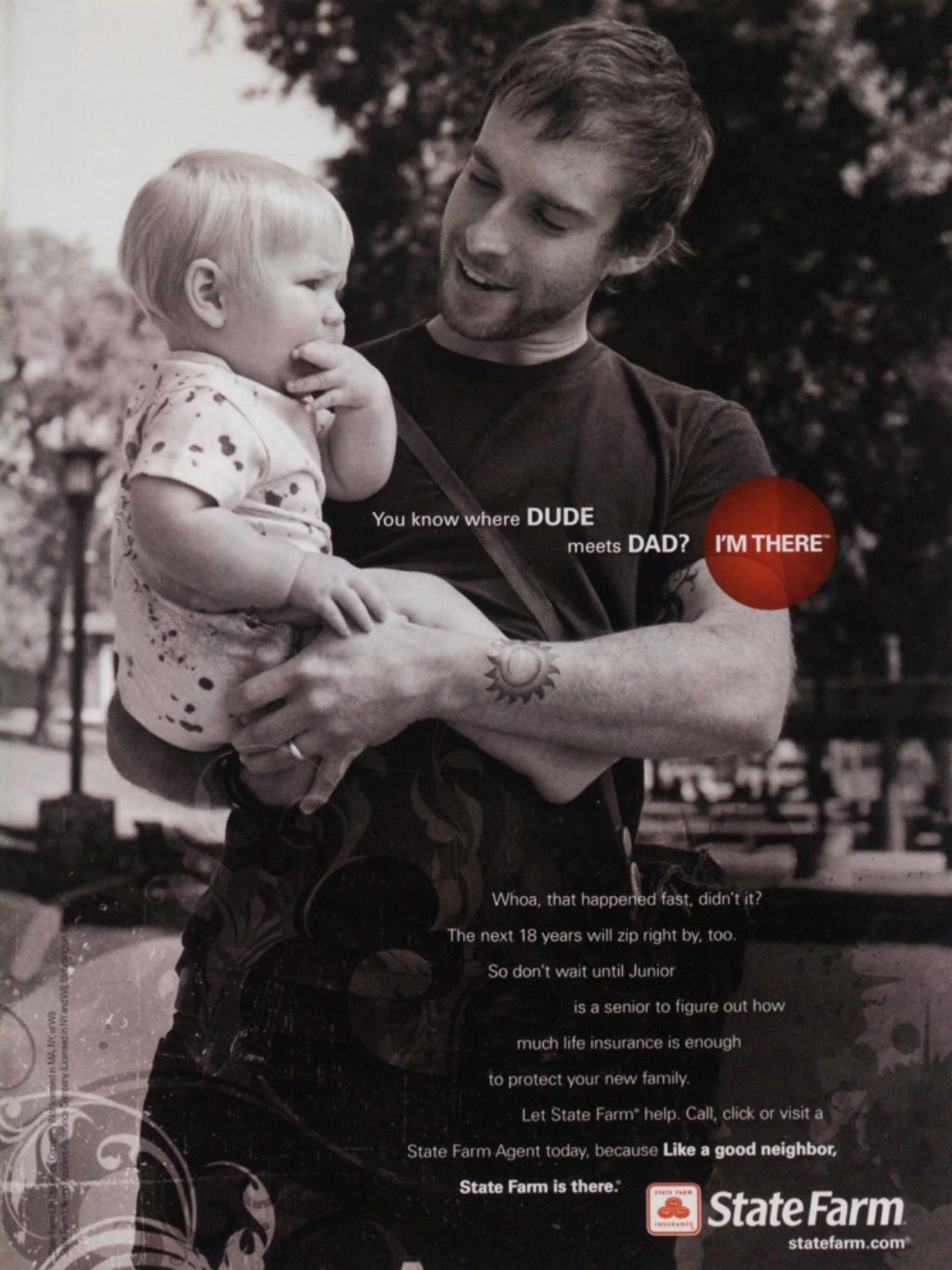
much that they leave on their own, or for voters to be so hungry for change they'll risk backing the long shot. As it happens, both now seem to be occurring. With some 30 of their members bailing out, Republicans are running a crop of entrepreneurs and CEOs (it helps for amateurs to pay their own way), including a concrete magnate in Illinois, a Lockheed Martin vice president in New Jersey and an 85-year-old Montana lawyer with eyebrows like hamsters who still counts as a rookie since he's yet to win office after 15 tries. Among the Democratic youngsters, there's a former Republican Iraq-war vet in Minnesota, a former ranch hand and Yale Ph.D. in Nebraska and Dennis Shulman, a blind rabbi who easily won the Democratic nomination for the Fifth District in New Jersey. "We keep sending career politicians to Washington, and what do we have to show for it? A big mess," Shulman says. "It may very well take a blind man to show Congress the light."

There is, of course, an argument for experience, especially when the issues are complex and the special interests cunning. House Speaker Tip O'Neill used to grumble about the "bed wetters,"

the fresh-faced Democrats who hadn't been around long enough to know how to resist pressure from the Reagan White House. There's a reason roughly half the people who write the laws have law degrees. But surely there's value in having some teachers as legislators when No Child Left Behind is on the table, or some doctors and nurses on the committees dissecting health-care proposals. Would actors perform better in floor debates? Would Al Franken lighten up the *Congressional Record*?

Running against Washington is the oldest play in the book; even Presidents up for re-election have been known to try to run as outsiders, and rookie candidates should be optimistic about where voters fall now on the change-vs.-experience spectrum. It's worth remembering what usually happens to amateurs who are ambitious enough to think they can vault to the top of the political pile: they end up acting just like the professionals who are already there. But maybe this year really will be different after all.



A black and white photograph of a man with light brown hair and a beard holding a baby. The man is wearing a dark t-shirt and has a tattoo of a sun on his right forearm. He is looking down at the baby with a gentle expression. The baby is wearing a light-colored onesie with dark spots and is also looking down.

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